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ENGLISH HISTORY
ILLUSTRATED
FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

1066—1216

BY

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WITH FORTY-~~4~~IGHT ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1912

SCOPE OF THE SERIES

THE time has long gone by when it could be said, as it was said by the Public Schools Commission of 1864, that, 'to gain an elementary knowledge of history, little more is required than some sustained, but not very laborious, efforts of memory'; or that 'it may, therefore, be acquired easily and without any mental exercise of much value.' On the other hand, it is now well recognized that the teaching of history by mere memorizing is useless, and that it is precisely as a mental exercise that history is of the greatest possible value. But many mental exercises may be comparatively dull and mechanical, and unless the pupil can take a very active share in the process, his reading of history will not greatly develop his reasoning powers. The plan of the present series is so laid that interest in the textbook or in the teacher's words is stimulated by supplementary reading, and sufficient premises are given to allow of a reasonable and reasoning deduction. The extracts are taken from contemporary authors, or are themselves contemporary documents, and have been chosen to illustrate as fairly and as vividly as possible the really important events of the period and to explain the motives of the chief actors.

It is not suggested that the present volumes should supersede a good textbook; it is hoped that they will supplement the textbook, of which even the best can offer only a meagre description of the most interesting events, and must almost inevitably fail to reproduce the essential atmosphere—literary and social—which is, after all, often the most important element in the study of history.

For the most part the extracts appear in chronological order, and can therefore be used with the date analysis given at the end of each volume. In the earlier periods it has been thought well to modernize and otherwise simplify archaic English; but occasionally an exact transcript is given, as being in itself a useful illustration. Translations throughout are original except where otherwise stated. The authorities quoted in the text are summarized for each period, and their comparative value indicated; while a short working bibliography—contemporary and modern—is added, so that the pupil may proceed to a fuller study of any special aspect in which he is interested. Nearly all the volumes are divided into two parts, so that, if required, parts of separate volumes may be bound together, or shorter periods may be studied. Finally, the illustrations have been chosen with great care, and with the special object of throwing light upon the social life and development of the period. Maps, too, sometimes specially drawn for this series, have been inserted wherever necessary.

INTRODUCTION

THE hundred and fifty years with which this volume is concerned make as complete a break in the continuity of our history as it shows throughout its course. There are of course, on the other hand, many ways of showing that the Normans built upon the old English foundations; but the changes were too many and far-reaching not to have a vast effect upon the development of England.

First of all we have to notice that Norman rule made for centralization ; much of the interest of the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is really centred in this grand struggle between the monarchy on the one hand, and the feudal nobility and the Church on the other. Closely connected with this struggle is the growth and development of feudalism itself, which even at this late day is still a dominating factor in our affairs. The growth of feudalism may be rightly said to be connected with the struggle of the monarchy for supremacy, because it was precisely the weakness of the central government that led men to seek protection from powerful neighbours, and so to organize society upon a land-holding basis. Protection was paid for by service. But such a system of feudalism was, at the time of the Con-

quest in 1066, as familiar in England as in Normandy. The modification brought in by the Normans was to regard the king as the sole owner of land, and all other occupiers as his vassals, whose duty it was to help the king to govern the country by providing an army.

Another great alteration brought about by the Conquest is seen in Church government. Church discipline in England was lax, and the Conqueror was glad to have a great reformer like Lanfranc, who could introduce the same vigour into the Church as he himself was infusing into the administration of the State. Thus arose that complete separation between Church and State which gave rise to such trouble in succeeding reigns. When the great king died friction was sure to arise. Rufus made many pretexts for quarrelling with Anselm, but no doubt he saw quite clearly the real point at issue, which was whether the Church should be independent of the monarchy or not. His successor, unlike him in everything else, resembled him in fighting hard for his supremacy.

It was in Henry II.'s reign that this ideal of a strong central government was most nearly realized. His great capacity was helped by his prestige—for at his accession he was already one of the strongest princes in Europe. That his vigour and resolution matched his great possessions was soon shown by the way in which he restored order in England. He curbed the power of the barons, whom the anarchy of Stephen's reign had made independent of all authority, by demolishing their castles and by prohibiting private wars. From the barons he turned

his attention inevitably to the question of the relationship between the Church and the State, and took his stand upon what he maintained was ancient custom. The immediate outcome, the wranglings with the Archbishop and his subsequent murder, were deplorable episodes in the long struggle, but victory inclined more and more to the monarchy.

One special field of study of this period must be the growth of English nationality, under kings whose interests lay largely beyond the Channel. Against the obvious foreign interests of the kings, however, we have to set the interests of their English subjects, and to bear in mind that time after time the English population rallied to their foreign rulers against feudal rebels. Such alliances beget confidence and loyalty. And, then, by the time John lost most of the possessions oversea, the Normans had settled down in England, and had already begun to mix with the native blood.

There is only one other matter which needs to be emphasized here—the enforcement of Magna Carta. Throughout John's reign the nobles had to suffer from all kinds of arbitrary exactions and violations of feudal law. After the defeat at Bouvines, a demand for scutage from those barons who had not followed him to Poitou brought matters to a head; they demanded a confirmation of the charter of Henry I. The really important thing to remember about the Charter is that it laid down, once and for all, the fundamental principle of our Constitution—that the king must not break the law. Its numerous chapters refer to all classes—barons, clergy, and merchants; but naturally, from the circumstances of the time,

they pay more attention to feudal duties and customs than to anything else. There are, however, many clauses of the greatest importance and applicable to any form of society—such as those which enacted that justice should be free and fair to all, that proper payment should be made for property required for public use, and that punishments should not be cruel or excessive.

In fact, the establishment of a strong central government, with proper safeguards against tyranny, seems to be the outstanding characteristic of the period of history which this volume purports to illustrate.

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ENGLISH HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

1066—1216

1. THE PROGRESS OF THE CONQUEST.

Saxon Chronicle

Translated from Old English by B. Thorpe,
[Rolls] ii 168 *et seq.*

ANNO 1066: This fight [Hastings] was fought on the day of Calixtus the Pope (October 14). And Count William went afterwards again to Hastings, and there awaited whether the nation would submit to him; but when he perceived that they would not come to him, he went up with all his army which was left to him, and what had afterwards come over sea to him, and harried all that part which he passed over, until he came to Berkhamstead. And there came to meet him Archbishop Ealdred and Eadgar Child, and Earl Eadwine, and Earl Morkere, and all the best men of London, and then from necessity submitted when the greatest harm had been done; and it was very imprudent that it was not done earlier, as God would not better it for our sins: and they gave hostages, and swore oaths to him; and he

promised them that he would be a kind lord to them ; and yet, during this, they harried all that they passed over. Then, on Midwinter's Day, Archbishop Ealdred hallowed him king at Westminster ; and he pledged him on Christ's book, and also swore, before he would set the crown on his head, that he



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND HIS KNIGHTS.

(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

would govern this nation as well as any king before him had best done, if they would be faithful to him. Nevertheless, he laid a very heavy contribution on the people, and then, in Lent, went over sea to Normandy, and took with him Archbishop Stigand, and Ægelnoth, Abbot of Glastonbury, and Eadgar Child, and Earl Eadwine, and Earl Morkere, and

Earl Waltheof, and many other good men of England. And Bishop Odo and Earl William [Fitz-Osbern of Hereford] remained here behind, and wrought castles widely throughout the nation and oppressed the poor people; and ever after that it greatly grew in evil. May the end be good when God will.

Anno 1067: In this year the king came again to England, on St. Nicholas' mass-day (December 6). . . . And Eadric Child and the Britons were in a state of hostility, and were warring against the castlemen at Hereford, and doing them much harm. And in this year the king set a heavy tax on the poor people; and, nevertheless, caused to be harried all that they passed over. And then he went to Devonshire, and besieged the town of Exeter for eighteen days, and there many of his army perished; but he promised them well, and ill performed. And they gave the town up to him, because the thanes had deceived them. And in this summer Eadgar Child went out, with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, and Maerleswegen and many good men with them, and came to Scotland, under the protection of King Malcolm, and he received them all. . . .

Anno 1068: In this year King William gave to Earl Robert [de Comines] the government over Northumberland; but the men of the country surrounded him in the burgh at Durham, and slew him and nine hundred men with him. And immediately after, Eadgar Ætheling came with all the Northumbrians to York, and the townsmen made peace with them: and King William came unawares on them

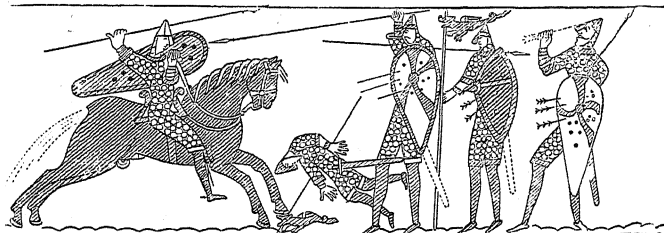
from the south, with an overwhelming army, and put them to flight, and slew those who could not flee, which were many hundred men, and plundered the town, and defiled St. Peter's monastery, and also plundered and oppressed all the others. And the ætheling went back again to Scotland. After this came the sons of Harold from Ireland at midsummer, with sixty-four ships, into the mouth of the Taw, and there heedlessly landed; and Earl Brian [of Brittany] came against them unawares, with no small force, and fought against them, and there slew all the best men that were in the fleet, and the others in a small body fled to the ships. And the sons of Harold went back again to Ireland. . . .

Anno 1071: In this year Earl Waltheof made his peace with the king; and in the following Lent, the king caused all the monasteries that were in England to be plundered. . . .

Anno 1072: In this year Earl Eadwine and Earl Morkere fled away, and went diversely in woods and in fields, until Eadwine was basely slain by his own men, and Morkere by ship went to Ely: and there came Bishop Ægelwine, and Sigeward Barn, and many hundred men with them. But when King William was informed of that, he ordered out a naval force and a land force, and beset the land all about, and wrought a bridge and went in, and the naval force on the water-side. And then all the outlaws went and surrendered to the king: these were Bishop Ægelwine, and Earl Morkere, and all who were with them, except Hereward only, and all who could flee away with him. And he boldly led them out, and the king took their ships and weapons and many



NORMAN HORSEMEN.



HAROLD TRYING TO PULL THE ARROW FROM HIS EYE.



NORMAN ARCHERS.

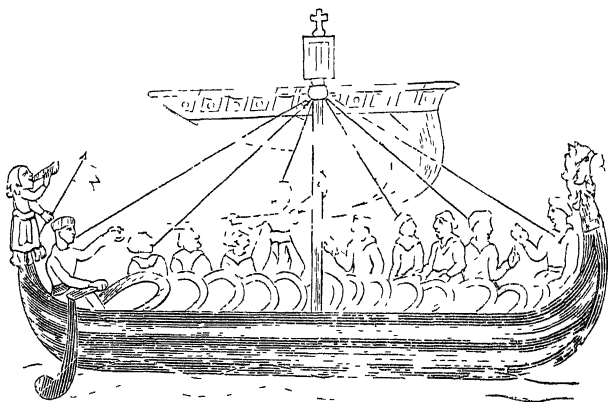
(From the Bayeux Tapestry).

This tapestry is still to be seen in the Public Library of Bayeux in Normandy. It is a woven picture of the Norman Conquest from Harold's journey to Normandy to his defeat at Hastings. It will be seen that the work is not quite finished, some of the figures being only in outline. It was probably worked within a century of the Conquest.

treasures; and all the men he took, and did with them what he would. . . .

Anno 1073: In this year King William led a nava force and a land-force to Scotland, and lay about that land with ships on the sea-side; and himself with his land-force went in over the ford. . . . And King Malcolm came and made peace with King William, and gave hostages, and was his man; and the king went home with all his force. . . .

Anno 1075: In this year King William went over



DUKE WILLIAM COMES TO PEBBLES

(*Bayeux Tapestry*)

sea to Normandy; and Eadgar Child came from the Flemings' land to Scotland, on St. Grumbald's mass-day (July 8); and King Malcolm and his sister Margaret received him with great worship. At that same time Philip, King of France, wrote to him and bade him come to him, and he would give him the castle of Montréuil, that he might then daily do harm

to his enemies. . . . But on the voyage evil befell them, when they were out at sea ; so that there came on them very rough weather, and the raging sea and the strong wind cast them on the land so that all their ships burst asunder, and they themselves with difficulty came to land, and almost all their treasures were lost. And some of his men also were seized by the Frenchmen ; but he himself and his best men went back again to Scotland ; some ruefully going on foot, and some miserably riding. Then King Malcolm advised him that he should send to King William over sea, and pray his peace ; and he also did so, and the king granted it to him, and sent after him. . . . And he was there in his court, and took such rights as he allowed him.

2. THE CONQUEROR DEVASTATES YORKSHIRE.

1068

William of Malmesbury,
'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' [Rolls] ii. 308.
Latin ? 1090-1142.

Malcolm used to welcome all fugitives from England, affording every one of them all the protection in his power, especially Edgar, whose sister he had married on account of her ancient and noble descent. On his behalf he harried the adjacent counties of England with rapine and fire ; not because he thought that he would thus be helping him at all to get the kingdom, but merely in order to provoke William, who was annoyed that his lands should be exposed to Scottish raids. So William collected a body of horse and foot and marched north ; and first he reduced the northern capital, which English,

Danes and Scots were obstinately defending, after the citizens had been worn out by starvation. He destroyed, too, in a great and important battle, a very large number of the enemy, who had come to help the garrison; although the victory was not bloodless as far as he himself was concerned, as he lost many of his troops. Then he orders the villages and country of the whole district to be laid waste, the produce and crops to be destroyed by fire or water, especially along the coast, partly owing to his still unappeased anger, and partly because a rumour had been spread that Sweyn's son, Canute, King of the Danes, was coming. The reason for these orders was that the pirate should find nothing near the coast to carry off, if he intended to depart immediately, or, if he intended to make a longer stay, should have to face the difficulty of getting supplies. And so the arteries of a once fertile province, the nurse of tyrants, were cut off by fire, devastation and slaughter; the ground for sixty miles and more absolutely uncultivated; the soil quite bare to this day. If any stranger beholds it now, he laments over cities that once were famous, over towers that threatened heaven with their height, fields glad with herds, watered with rivers; if an old inhabitant still survives, he does not recognize the place.

3. THE BRIDAL OF NORWICH.

1075.

Saxon Chronicle.

Translated from Old English by B. Thorpe,
[Rolls] II. 180

In this year King William gave to Earl Ralph the daughter of William Fitz-Osbern. And the same Ralph was a Breton on his mother's side, and Ralph his father was English, and was born in Norfolk. And on that account the king gave his son the earldom of Norfolk, and also of Suffolk. He then conducted his wife to Norwich.

‘There was that bride-ale,
that was many men's bale.’

There were Earl Roger [of Hereford], and Earl Waltheof, and bishops and abbots; and they were resolved that they would drive their royal lord from his kingdom; and this was forthwith made known to the king in Normandy. Earl Ralph and Earl Roger were the chiefs in this evil design; and they enticed the Bretons to them, and sent also to Denmark for a naval force. And Roger went west to his earldom, and gathered his people for the king's detriment, as he thought, but it was to their own great harm. Ralph would also go forth with his earldom; but the castlemen who were in England, and also the country-folk, came against them, and prevented them all, so that they did nothing; but he was fain to flee to the ships: and his wife remained behind in the castle, and held it so long until peace was granted her; and she then went out from England, and all her men that would go with her. And the king after-

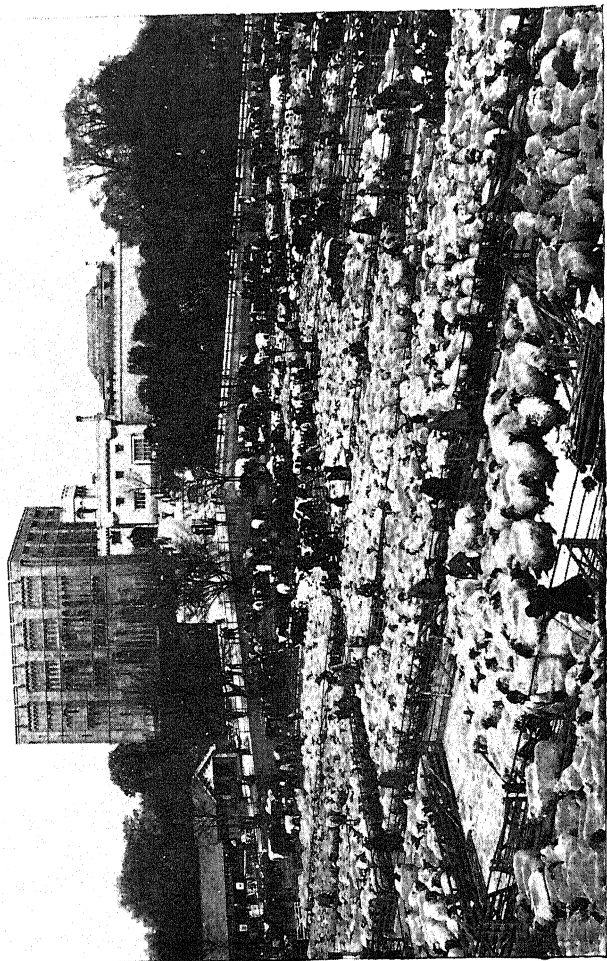
wards came to England, and took Earl Roger, his kinsman, and set him in prison. And Earl Waltheof went over sea, and accused himself, and implored forgiveness, and offered treasures. But the king treated it lightly until he came to England, and then caused him to be taken. And soon after this came two hundred ships from Denmark, wherein the chiefs were Cnut, son of King Sweyn, and Hakon Jarl; but they durst not maintain a battle against King William; but went to York, and brake into St. Peter's monastery, and therein took much property, and so went away. . . . The king was that midwinter at Westminster; there were all the Bretons condemned who were at the marriage at Norwich; some were blinded, and some banished from the land, and some punished ignominiously. Thus were the king's traitors crushed.

4. EXECUTION OF WALTHEOF.

1076.

William of Malmesbury,
'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' [Rolls] II 311
Latin ? 1090-1142.

Waltheof, an earl of high descent, had been admitted to considerable intimacy with the new king, because the latter, putting former offences from his mind, attributed them rather to merit than to disloyalty. Now in the fight at York, Waltheof had slain many Normans single-handed, cutting off their heads one by one as they came in through the gate: broad-shouldered, deep-chested, tall and strong was the son of the great Earl Siward, who was called by the Danish word *Digera*, or the Strong. But afterwards, when his friends were defeated, he surrendered,



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NORWICH CASTLE AND MARKET.

became the king's friend, and was given Judith, the king's niece, in marriage. But he did not remain loyal long, for he could not restrain his wicked inclinations; for when all his fellow-countrymen who thought a blow might be struck had been slain or crushed, he actually implicated himself in the treachery of Ralph Guader. When the plot was discovered, he was arrested, kept in prison for some time, and at last beheaded and buried at Croyland; although some say that he subscribed to the plot only because he was circumvented by force of circumstances, and not voluntarily at all. That is the English excuse for him, for the Normans assert otherwise. . . .

On this account the king's conduct is perhaps reasonably to be excused, if at any time he has been somewhat harsh to the English, because he has found hardly one of them loyal to him. And this so exasperated his fierce temper that he deprived the more powerful, first of their wealth, then of their estates, and actually put some of them to death.

5. DOMESDAY BOOK AND THE GEMOT OF SALISBURY.

1086.

Saxon Chronicle.

Translated from Old English by B. Thorpe,
[Rolls] II 186

Then at midwinter the king was at Gloucester with his witan, and there held his court five days; and afterwards the archbishop and clergy had a synod three days. There were Maurice chosen Bishop of London, and William to Norfolk and Robert to Cheshire. They were all the king's clerks.

After this the king had a great council, and very deep speech with his witan about this land, how it was peopled, or by what men; then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the king himself had, and cattle within the land, or what dues he ought to have, in twelve months, from the shire. Also he caused to be written how much land his archbishops had, and his suffragan bishops and his abbots and his earls; and—though I may narrate somewhat proluxly—what or how much each man had who was a holder of land in England, in land or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nor even—it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do—an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, was left, that was not set down in his writ. And all the writings were brought to him afterwards. . . .

After that he went about, so that he came by Lammas to Salisbury, and there his witan came to him, and all the landholders that were of account over all England, be they the men of what man they might; and they all submitted to him, and were his men, and swore to him oaths of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men.

6. EXTRACTS FROM DOMESDAY BOOK.

From the Victoria County Histories.

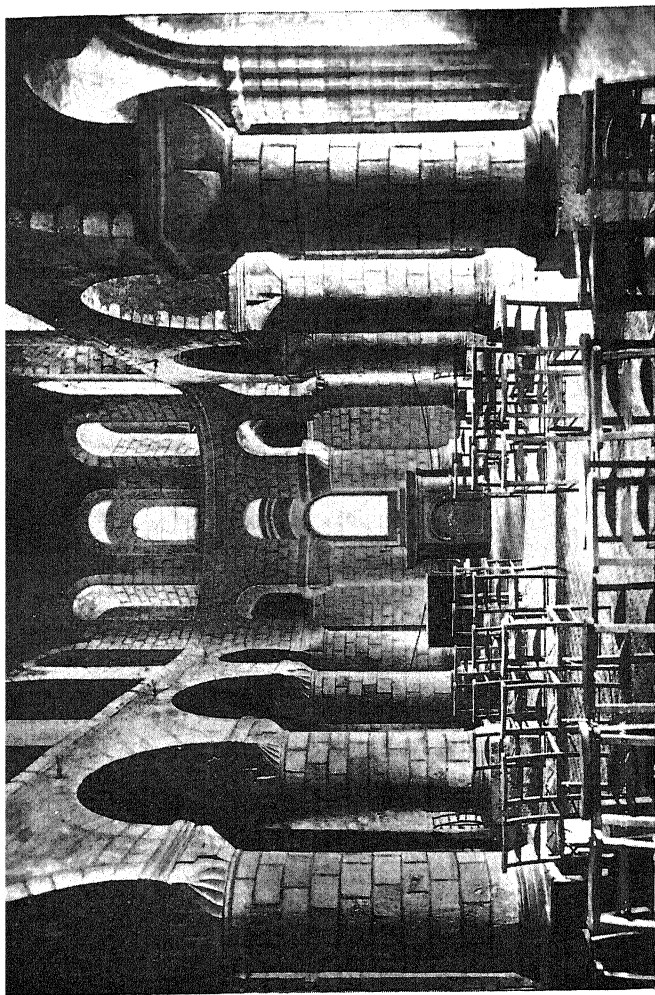
Berkshire.

(1) (Windsor.) King William holds Windsor in demesne. King Edward held it. There are 20 hides.

On the demesne is one plough, and there are 22 villeins and 2 bordars with 10 ploughs. There is one serf and a fishery worth 6 shillings and 8 pence; and 40 acres of meadow and woodland yielding 50 swine for pannage dues. Other woodland is placed in enclosure. There are besides 100 closes in the vill. Of these 26 are exempt from rent payment. From the others come 30 shillings. Of the land of this manor Albert the clerk holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and the third part of a coppice and as much woodland as renders 5 swine as dues for pannage. Gilbert Maminot holds three virgates, William 1 hide, Aluric 1 hide, another Aluric half a hide, and the priest of the vill $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and two sergeants of the king's court half a hide, Eudo Dapifer 2 hides. T.R.E. it was worth 15 pounds; afterwards 7 pounds, now 15 pounds.

(2) (In Charlton Hundred.) The king holds Wargrave in demesne. Queen Eddid held it. It was then assessed at 33 hides; now it is assessed at nothing. There is land for 29 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and there are 41 villeins and 14 bordars with 25 ploughs. There are 6 serfs and a mill worth 9 shillings and 2 pence, and 3 fisheries to render 3,000 eels, and 16 acres of meadow, and woodland to render 100 swine. T.R.E. it was worth 31 pounds; and afterwards, as now, 27 pounds and 6 shillings and 8 pence.

(3) (In Wantage Hundred.) The Abbot of St. Alban holds West Henderd Nigel de Albengi gave it to that church. Three thegns held it T.R.E. and could go to what lord they pleased. It was then assessed at 10 hides, it is now assessed at 4. There



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ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL, WHITE TOWER, TOWER OF LONDON.

The Chapel of St. John is in the White Tower or Keep of the Tower of London, which was begun about 1078 by Gundulph, a monk of Bec, who became Bishop of Rochester. The chapel was ready for use during the Conqueror's reign. St. John's Chapel is the most perfect specimen of an early Norman building in England.

is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and there are 3 villeins and 3 cottars with 1 plough and there are 45 acres of meadow. Of his land Ernuzon holds 2 hides of the abbot and there he has 1 plough and 4 cottars. A church is there and 5 acres of meadow. The whole T.R.E. and afterwards was worth 10 pounds. Now likewise the whole is worth 10 pounds.

(4) (In Thatcham Hundred.) Bernard the falconer holds Wasing of the king. Alwin held it of King Edward in alod. It was then assessed at 1 hide; it is now assessed at half a hide. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs and there are 5 villeins and 1 bordar with 2 ploughs; also 1 serf and mill worth 16 shillings. It is and was worth 3 pounds.

Hampshire.

(5) (In Meonstoke Hundred.) William de Perci holds Hambleden. He received it with his wife Alwin held it of King Edward. It was then as now assessed at 8 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 plough and there are 6 villeins and 6 bordars with 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs and a mill worth 12 pence. There is woodland worth 4 swine. T.R.E. it was, as now, worth 4 pounds. when received it was worth 3 pounds.

(6) (In Basingstoke Hundred.) Geoffrey, chamberlain to the king's daughter, holds Hatch Warren of the king. Alsī held it T.R.E. It was then assessed at 1 hide; now at 3 virgates. There is land for 3 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs and there are 2 villeins with 1 plough. There are a church and

11 serfs. T.R.E. it was worth 100 shillings, was afterwards, as now, worth 4 pounds. Odo de Wincestre claims this hide and says that he had it in mortgage for 10 pounds from Alsi, with the permission of King William, and that he is therefore deprived of it unjustly. But Geoffrey holds it of the

.115. **TERRA S^{ci} PETRI WESTMON^{ast}** **ASSOLVERE**
IN Villa ubi sedet eccl^a s^{ci} PETRI. tenet abb^{as} ead^e
 loci. xiii. hid^{ae} 7 dim'. tra. ē ad xi. car'. Ad dñm
 pan'. ix. hid^{ae} 7 i. ung'. 7 ibi sunt iii. car'. Villi hñc. vi.
 car'. 7 i. car' plus pot' fieri. lbi. x. uilli q^{ui}q; de. i. ung'.
 7 i. uill^{is} de. i. hid^{ae} 7 x. uill^{is} q^{ui}q; de dim' ung'. 7 i. cot'
 de. v. ac'. 7 xl. i. cot' q^{ui} reddit p ann^o xl. sol' p orat^{is} suis.
 p^{re}st^{at}. xi. car'. p^{er} astra ad pecun^{iam} uill^{is}. Silva c. porc'.
 7 xcv. dom^{us} milit^{um} abb^{as} 7 alioz hōmⁱⁿum. qui reddit
 viii. sol' p annū. In total valent^{ur} ual. x lib. Q^{uo}do
 recep^{it}. similit^{er}. T. R. E. xii. lib. Hoc m^o fuit 7 est
 in dñio eccl^e s^{ci} PETRI Westmonasterii.

PART OF A PAGE FROM DOMESDAY BOOK

(From the original in the Public Record Office)

Notice the use of the word *hide* (l 3)=a certain rateable area, and the marginal details of ploughlands (*carucata*, l 3), wood (*silva*, l 8), pasturage (l 8), etc. T. R. E. (l 11)=*tempore regis Edwardi* and refers to the value of the land in that King's time (the Confessor's)

king for the service he performed to his daughter Matilda.

(7) (In Bishop's Sutton Hundred.) Edwin holds Oakhanger and says that he bought it of King William; but the jury of the shire knows nothing of this. Alwi held it of King Edward and Richard now

holds it of Edwin. T.R.E. it was assessed at 1 hide and 8 virgates. There is land for 4 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs and there are 8 villeins and 6 bordars with 3 ploughs and 2 serfs and 2 acres of meadow. T.R.E. and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings; it is now worth 60 shillings. Of this manor the king's reeve claims half a hide for pasture for the king's oxen; but (the jury of) the shire testifies that he cannot have pasture or pannage in the king's wood as he claims except by authority of the sheriff.

(8) (In Bermondspitt Hundred.) Edwin the priest holds 8 virgates in Candover of the king. The same Edwin held it of King Edward as an alod. There is land for half a plough and yet there is 1 plough in the demesne. It is worth 5 shillings.

(9) (In Boore Hundred.) Cheping held 3 virgates of the king in Oakley and was assessed at that amount. It is now in the forest. It was worth 40 shillings. Wislac held 8 hide of the king in Boldreford. It is now in the forest, except 2 acres of meadow which Hugh of St. Quentin holds. It is worth 10 pounds (*sic*).

(10) Aluric had half a hide in Pilley in Boldre; and it was assessed at that amount. It is now in the forest except 3 acres of meadow which the same Aluric holds. There was land for two ploughs; it was worth 5 shillings.

Essex.

(11) (Hundred of Barnstaple.) Ramsden is held of the Bishop of Bayeux by 2 knights and was held as 3 hides by 2 free men, and according to the

English jurors Ravengar took away the land from one of them and Robert FitzWimarc the land from the other and now they know not how it came to the bishop. These men had then 2 ploughs; now there is no plough there. Then 5 bordars, now 7. There is half a hide of woodland and pasture for 100 sheep. It was then worth 3 pounds, now 4.

From Matland, 'Domesday Book'

(12) D.B. I. 34 (A manor in Sussex). In demesne there are 5 teams and there are 25 villeins and 6 bordars with 14 teams. There is one mill of 2 shillings and one fishery and one church and 4 acres of meadow and wood for 150 pannage pigs, and 2 stone quarries of 2 shillings and 2 nests of hawks in the wood and 10 serfs.

(13) D.B. I. 132b (A manor in Hertfordshire). There are 6 teams in demesne and 41 villeins and 17 bordars have 20 teams. There are 22 cottars and 12 serfs.

(14) D.B. I. 132b. The priest 13 villeins and 4 bordars have 6 teams . . . there are 2 cottars and 4 serfs.

(15) D.B. I. 136. The priests and 24 villeins have 13 teams . . . there are 12 bordars, 86 cottars and 11 serfs.

(16) D.B. II. 1. In this manor there was at that time a freeman with half a hide who has now been made one of the villeins.

(17) D.B. I. 180b. Five thegns held this land of Earl Edwin and could go with their land whither they could, and below them they had four soldiers who are as free as themselves.

(18) D.B. I. 172 (Worcestershire). When the king goes on a military expedition if any one who is summoned stays at home then, if he is so free a man that he has his sake and soke and can go whither he pleases, he with all his land shall be in the king's mercy.

(19) D.B. I. 30. Richard of Tonbridge holds in this manor one virgate with wood from which he has taken away the countryman who dwelt there.

(20) D.B. I. 32. The men of Southwark testify that in King Edward's time no one took toll on the strand or in the water-street save the king, and if anyone in the act of committing an offence was there challenged he paid the amends to the king, but if without being challenged he escaped under a man who had sake and soke, that man had the amends.

7. SOME NEW STATUTES OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Rymer, 'Fœdera,' I. 1. 1

William, King of the English, Duke of the Normans, to all his men, French and English, greeting.

We ordain, first of all, that one God be worshipped throughout our realm; that one faith of Christ be ever kept inviolate; that peace, safety, harmony, law and justice be firmly and ever secured throughout the whole monarchy of the realm of Britain between English and Normans, French and Welsh and Cornish Britons, Picts and Scots of Albion; so too between French and Islesmen, etc.

We ordain also that all free men declare by fact and oath that within and without the whole realm of England, which formerly was called the realm of

Britain, they will be faithful to their lord, King William; and that they will help him in keeping his lands and honour everywhere in all loyalty, and defend them against enemies and strangers.

We will and strictly order that all men whom we brought with us, or who came after us, be in our protection and peace, throughout the aforesaid realm; and if any of them be slain, his lord shall have his murderer within five days if he can; if not, he shall begin to pay us forty-six marks of silver, as long as the substance of that lord shall last; when the lord's substance shall fail, the whole hundred in which the murder took place shall pay in common what remains . . .

We forbid also that any live stock be bought or sold, except in the towns, and this before three trusty witnesses, nor any old thing without pledge and warranty. If any do otherwise, let him pay as much, and more, and make forfeit. . . .

It is also ordained that if a Frenchman appeal an Englishman of perjury or murder, theft, homicide, ran (the English word for open robbery which cannot be denied), the Englishman shall defend himself as he prefers, either by ordeal of iron or by battle. If, however, the Englishman be in ill-health, let him find another to act for him. If one of them be vanquished, he shall pay a fine of forty shillings to the king. But if an Englishman appeal a Frenchman, and will not prove it by ordeal or battle, I will that the Frenchman then clear himself by an oath which is not broken.

This also we ordain, that all should have and hold the Law of King Edward in all things, in addition

to which we have appointed for the benefit of the English.

Every man who shall wish to be held for free, must find security that the surety will hold him to justice if he offend at all. And if any such makes default, let the sureties see that they pay what is claimed, and clear themselves of any knowledge on their part of any crime in the defaulter. Let the hundred and county be searched, as our predecessors ordained. Let those who should come, but will not, be summoned once; if they answer not the second summons, let the fine be one ox; for the third default, another ox; for the fourth, the amount claimed (called cheap-geld) shall be paid from his goods, with forfeiture to the king as well.

And we forbid that any sell a man out of the country.

8. SOME ECCLESIASTICAL CHANGES INTRODUCED BY THE CONQUEROR.

Eadmer, 'Historia Novorum in Anglia,'
[Rolls] p. 9. Latin *Contemporary*.

Thus all things, sacred and profane, were subject to his will. And to put it briefly, I will set down some of the novelties which he established in England, for I consider a knowledge of them necessary for the proper understanding of those matters on account of which I have undertaken the task of writing this history.

He would not allow anyone in all his realm, without his express authority, to recognize as the successor of the Apostles anyone elected Bishop of Rome, or on any consideration to receive his letters,

unless they had first been shown to him. Also the primate of his realm, I mean the Archbishop of Canterbury, in presiding over a general council of bishops, was forbidden to make any decree or prohibition, except what fell in with his wishes and had been sanctioned by him beforehand. He refused to allow any of his bishops, except at his orders, to cite or excommunicate any of his barons or servants for incest or adultery or any capital charge, or to constrain them with any penalty of church discipline.

9. SEPARATION OF THE LAY AND CHURCH COURTS.

Rymer, 'Fœdera,' I 1. 3

William, by the grace of God, King of the English, to earls and sheriffs, and all French and English, who hold lands in the diocese of Bishop Remigius, greeting.

Know ye and all my other lieges who are in England, that in the Common Council, and with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, abbots and all the chief men of my realm, I have thought fit to amend the episcopal laws, which up to my time in the realm of the English were not well nor in accordance with the ordinances of the holy canons.

Wherefore I command, and by my kingly authority ordain, that no bishop or archdeacon any longer hold pleas on episcopal laws in the Hundred; nor refer any cause, which appertains to the rule of souls, to the judgment of laymen. But whosoever is summoned according to episcopal laws for any cause or fault must come to the place appointed and named therefor by the bishop; and he shall answer there

to God and his bishop for his cause or fault in accordance with the canons and episcopal laws, and not in accordance with those of the Hundred.

But if anyone, in a spirit of pride, shall scorn and decline to come to the episcopal courts, let him be summoned once, twice, thrice; but if not even so will he come, let him be excommunicated; and if need be for enforcing this, let the power and justice of the king or sheriff be called in; and he, who refuses to appear in the bishop's court when summoned, shall pay a fine for every summons.

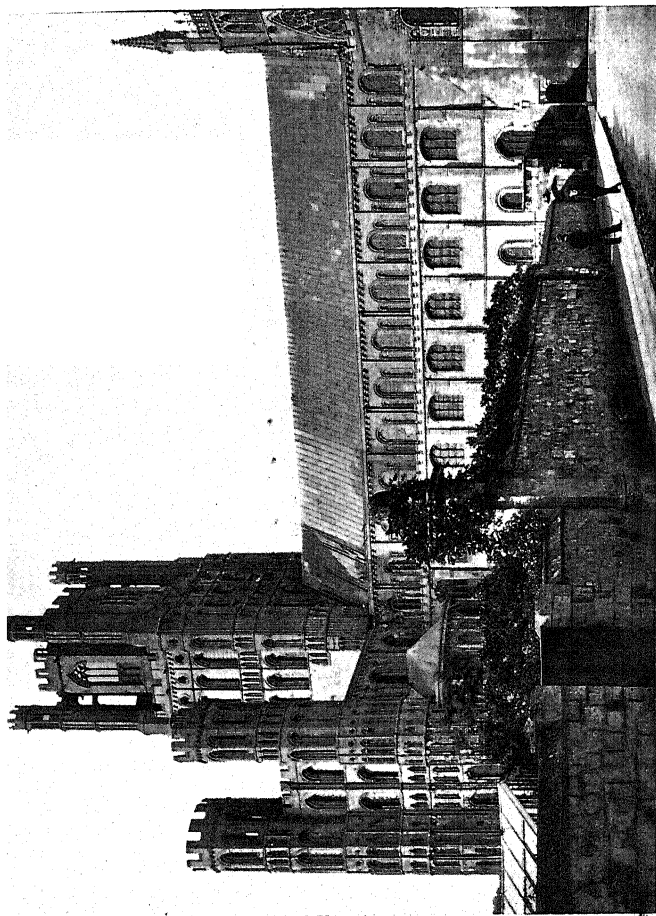
This also I prohibit, and by my authority forbid, that any sheriff, or bailiff or servant of the king, or any layman whatever, meddle with the laws which concern the bishops; or that any lay person bring any other person to judgment without the justice of the bishop. Let the judgment be pronounced nowhere save in the bishop's see, or in a place appointed by the bishop therefor.

10. THE CONQUEROR'S CHARACTER

Saxon Chronicle.

Translated from Old English by B. Thorpe,
[Rolls] II. 188.

If anyone desires to know what kind of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he was lord, then we will write of him so as we understood him who have looked on him, and, at another time, sojourned in his court. The King William, about whom we speak, was a very wise man and very powerful, more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men who loved God, and over all measure



ELY CATHEDRAL.

[Photochrom Co., Ltd.]

The present cathedral was begun in 1083, and the work was carried on in the Norman and transitional Norman styles till about 1170. The Gothic builders added the Gollie porch about 1200, extended the east end by substituting a presbytery for the apse about 1235, built a large lady chapel during the years 1321 to 1349, and about the same time rebuilt the choir and replaced the fallen central tower by the beautiful octagonal central tower.

severe to the men who gainsaid his will. On that same stead, on which God granted him that he might subdue England, he reared a noble monastery, and there placed monks and well endowed it. In his days was the noble monastery at Canterbury built, and also very many others over all England. This land was also plentifully supplied with monks, and they lived their lives after the rule of St. Benedict. And in his day Christianity was such that every man who would followed what belonged to his condition. He was also very dignified; thrice every year he bare his crown, as oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it in Winchester; at Pentecost in Westminster; at midwinter in Gloucester. And then were with him all the great men over all England, archbishops and suffragan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights.

So also was he a very rigid and cruel man, so that no one durst do anything against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who had acted against his will; bishops he cast from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes into prison; and at last he spared not his own brother named Odo: he was a very rich bishop in Normandy, at Bayeux was his episcopal see; and he was the foremost man besides the king; and he had an earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful in this land: and him he set in prison.

Among other things is not to be forgotten the good peace that he made in this land; so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm, with his bosom full of gold, unhurt.

Nor durst any man slay another man had he done ever so great evil to the other. . . . He reigned over England, and by his sagacity so thoroughly surveyed it, that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who had it, or what it was worth, and afterwards set it in his writ.

Brytland (Wales) was in his power, and he therein wrought castles, and completely ruled over that race of men. In like manner he also subjected Scotland to him by his great strength. The land of Normandy was naturally his, and over the county which is called Le Maine he reigned; and if he might yet have lived two years he would, by his valour, have won Ireland, and without any weapons. Certainly in his time men had great hardship and very many injuries. Castles he caused to be made, and poor men to be greatly oppressed. The king was so very rigid, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, which he took . . . from his people, for little need. He had fallen into covetousness, and altogether loved greediness. He planted a great preserve for deer, and he laid down laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind should be blinded. He forbade the harts and also the boars to be killed. As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father. He also ordained concerning the hares, that they should go free. His great men bewailed it, and the poor men murmured thereat, but he was so obdurate, that he recked not of the hatred of them all, but they must wholly follow the king's will, if they would live, or have land, or property, or even his peace. Alas that any man should be so proud, so raise

himself up, and account himself above all men
May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and
grant him forgiveness of his sins! These things we
have written concerning him, both good and evil,
that good men may imitate their goodness, and
wholly flee from the evil.

11. ENGLISHMEN SUPPORT WILLIAM RUFUS.

Saxon Chronicle,

Translated from Old English by B. Thorpe,

1088,

[Rolls] II. 191.

In this year the land was much disturbed and filled with great treason; so that the most powerful Frenchmen that were in this land would betray their lord the king, and would have for king his brother Robert, who was Count of Normandy. In this plot the first was Bishop Odo, and Bishop Geoffrey [of Coutances], and William, Bishop of Durham. . . . And Earl Roger [of Shrewsbury] was also at that plotting, and very many people with them, all Frenchmen. And this plot was formed in Lent. As soon as Easter came, they went and ravaged, and burned and laid waste the king's farm-vills, and laid waste the lands of all the men who remained faithful to the king. And each of them went to his castle, and manned it and provisioned it as he best could; and Bishop Geoffrey and Robert of Mowbray went to Bristol, and harried and brought the booty to the castle. And afterwards they went out from the castle and ravaged Bath and all the land thereabout, and all the district of Berkeley they laid waste. And the chief men of Hereford and all that shire forthwith, and the men of Shropshire with many people

from Brytland [Wales], came and harried and burned in Worcestershire, until they came to the city itself; and would then burn the city, and plunder the monastery, and win the king's castle into their hands. Seeing these things, the venerable Bishop Wulfstan was sorely troubled in his mind, because the castle had been committed to his keeping. Nevertheless, the men of his household came out with a few men from the castle, and, through God's mercy and through the bishop's deserts, slew and captured five hundred men, and put all the others to flight. The Bishop of Durham did all the harm he could everywhere in the north. . . . The bishop Odo . . . went into Kent to his earldom, and sorely ruined it, and laid completely waste the lands of the king and the archbishop, and brought all the spoil into his castle of Rochester. When the king was apprised of all these things, and what treason they were practising against him, he was greatly troubled in mind. He then sent after Englishmen, and told to them his need, and desired their support, and promised them the best laws that ever were before in this land; and every unjust impost he forbade, and granted to men their woods and liberty of the chase, but it stood no while. But the Englishmen, nevertheless, betook them to the aid of the king their lord.

12. SAXONS AND NORMANS.

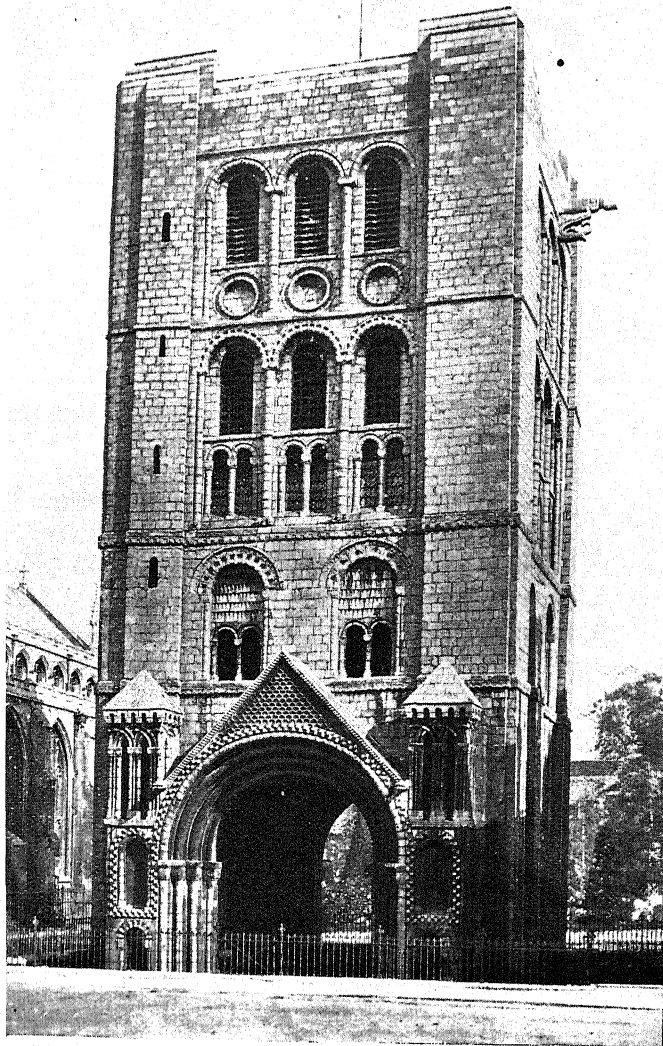
William of Malmesbury,
 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' [Rolls] II. 304.
 Latin 2 1090-1142

However, the keen pursuit of literature and religion faded away as time went on, many years indeed

before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a very confused understanding of literature, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments; he who understood grammar was a source of amazement, a perfect miracle in fact, to most people. . . .

Drinking parties were a general custom, and nights and days were thus spent. They [the English] consumed their whole substance in small mean houses, differing in this respect from the French and Normans, who live without extravagance in fine large mansions. Then there were the vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate men's characters. Hence it came about that, engaging William with unthinking rashness and fury rather than with military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery by the issue of one not very hotly contested battle. . . .

Moreover the Normans, to speak of them also, were at that time, and still are, splendidly dressed, and delicate, but not excessively so, in their food. They are a people inured to war, and can hardly live without fighting; full of fire in attacking the enemy, yet where force fails just as keen in winning their way by stratagem and bribe. As I have said, they live in great mansions without extravagance; they envy their equals and wish to surpass their superiors; the subjects they themselves plunder they protect from others; they are loyal to their lords, but disloyal in a moment for some slight affront. They reckon treachery by its chance of success, and change front for money. . . . The observances of religion, which had everywhere died out in England, they



NORMAN TOWER, BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

[H. I. Jarman.]

This tower was erected about 1090. The arcades are fine specimens of early but rich Norman work. The porch is of later date by about half a century. The tower constituted one of the entrances to the abbey church of the famous monastery which grew up round the shrine of King Edmund the Martyr.

quicken~~d~~ when they came over; you might see churches rise everywhere in the towns, and monasteries in the villages and cities, after a new style of architecture; you might see the whole land flourishing with renewed worship, so that every man of wealth thought that day wasted which he did not adorn by some splendid munificence.

13. RANULF FLAMBARD'S GOVERNMENT.

William of Malmesbury,
'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' [Rolls] ii. 368
Latin. ? 1090-1142.

The fame of the king's lavishness made a stir throughout the West, and even spread to the East knights came to him from every province on this side the mountains, and were rewarded by him with unstinted largess; and so, when he had no more to give, penniless and exhausted he turned greedy. The king's wishes were supported by a clerk named Ranulf Flambard, who ever abetted his desires; born in the humblest station, he had attained high place by his eloquence and cleverness. If at any time a royal proclamation was published that England should pay a certain tax, it was doubled by this plunderer of the wealthy, this exterminator of the poor, this confiscator of other men's inheritance. A pleader who never lost a case, he was as uncontrolled in action as in speech, as savage to the suppliant as to the obstinate. Indeed, some used to chuckle and say that he was the only man who knew how to use his ability in this way, paying no attention to other people's hatred so long as he pleased his master.

At his advice, the holy offices of the church, as

vacancies occurred, were put up to sale; for as soon as the death of a bishop or abbot was reported, a royal clerk was despatched to make a complete inventory and to pay in all future revenue into the royal exchequer. Meanwhile search was made for a suitable successor to the dead, not by the test of merit, but of money; and at length the empty office, if I may so express myself, was bestowed—bought, however, at a great price. These things appeared the more shameful, because, in the Conqueror's time, on the death of a bishop or abbot, all revenues were reserved untouched in order to be handed over to the succeeding prelate; and promotion was conferred on persons of praiseworthy and religious lives. But in the space of a very few years everything was changed. None was rich now save the money-lender, none a clerk save the lawyer, none a priest save the tax-collector. . . . As order declined, the courtiers preyed upon the substance of the country-folk, plundered their property, and took the very bread from their mouths. Then was the time of flowing locks and extravagant dress, then came in the fashion of shoes with curved points; then it was a correct thing for young men to outdo women in effeminacy, to walk mincingly, to indulge in loose gestures and to appear almost naked . . . so that it was said with justice by a wise man, that England would be lucky if Henry were king.

14. THE PREACHING OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.

1095.

William of Malmesbury,
 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' [Rolls] ii. 398.
 Latin. ? 1090-1142.

I have kept to the tenor of this address [of Pope Urban at the Council of Clermont], giving a small part of it word for word, but omitting a good deal. The mass of the audience, worked up to great enthusiasm, show their sentiments by a shout of approval, not only of the speech but of the pilgrimage. Immediately in the council some of the nobles, falling at the pope's knees, dedicated themselves and their fortunes to the service of God. Among them was Adhemar, the powerful Bishop of Puy, who afterwards ruled that army by his wisdom, and added to its numbers by his eloquence. So in November, when this council was held, everyone went to his own home, and forthwith the fame of this good news spread throughout the whole world, and with its sweet breath cheered the hearts of Christian men; and as it ever blew abroad, there was no people so remote, so retired, that it did not send some representatives of itself. For it was not only the southern nations that were moved by this feeling of love, but all those who even in the farthest islands or among barbarous tribes had heard the name of Christ. Then the Welshman left his hunting, the Scot his vermin, the Dane his drinking bouts, the Norseman his raw fish. Fields were deserted of the tillers, houses of inhabitants; nay, whole cities migrated. Love of friends was naught, patriotism of small account; God alone was set before their eyes.

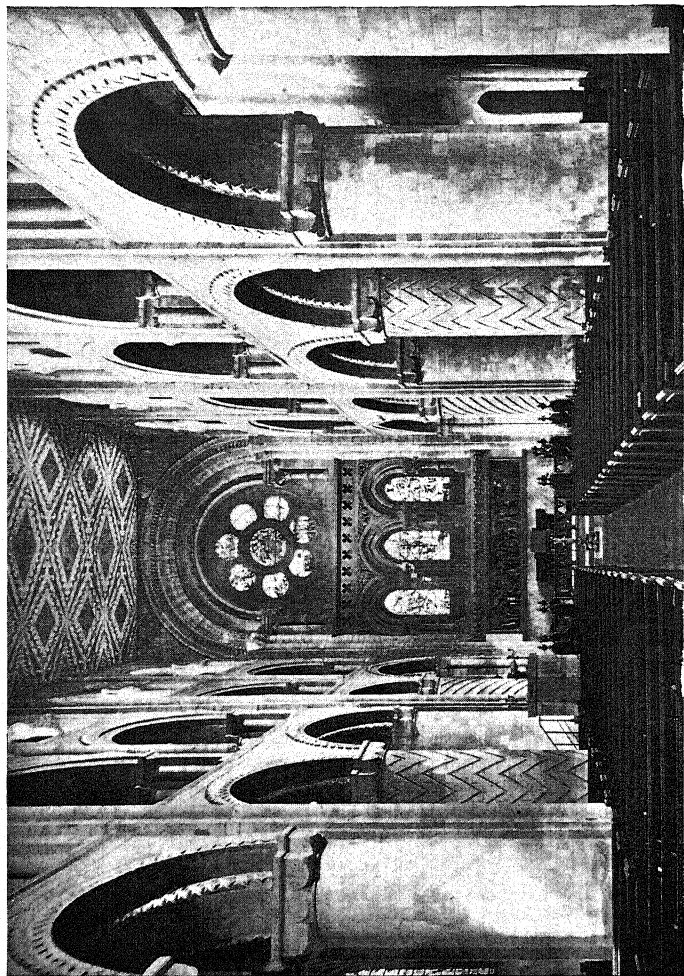
All the stores of granaries, all the hoards of closets, intended once to match the hopes of miser or of husbandman, all is left ; they hunger now but for the road to Jerusalem. The joy of those who went, the sorrow of those who stayed ! Do I say of those who stayed ? Nay, you might see husband setting off with wife and all his family ; you would smile to see whole households laden on carts starting on the journey. The road was too narrow for the travellers, the path too confined, the long lines of people were so dense and closely packed. The number surpassed all calculations, although it was estimated at six millions. Undoubtedly never before were so many nations united in one purpose ; never before did such a mass of people subject its unruliness to one, nay, almost to no, direction. For the chiefest miracle was to see how this unnumbered multitude marched slowly through Christian lands without attempting to plunder, although there was no one to stop them. Neighbourly love was warm in every heart, so that if any found in his possession what he knew did not belong to him, he exposed it everywhere for many days to find an owner : meanwhile the finder's desires were restrained, till perchance the loser's needs were repaired.

15. SPEECHES OF ANSELM AT THE COUNCIL OF ROCKINGHAM.

1095. Eadmer, ' *Historia Novorum in Anglia*,'
[Rolls] p. 54. Latin. *Contemporary*

My brothers, children of God's Church, even all who are met together here in the name of the Lord, hearken, I pray, and, as far as in you lies, give the

help of your counsel to the matter for the discussion of which you are here assembled. And what that matter is, do ye, who have not yet fully heard, hear now. Between our lord the king and me certain words have passed, which seem to engender discord. For when of late, in accordance with the custom of my predecessors, I begged of him permission to visit Urban, Bishop of the Apostolic See, to receive of him my pallium, he said that he had not yet acknowledged Urban as pope, and therefore declined that I should resort to him for that purpose. 'Moreover,' said he, 'if in my realm you acknowledge as pope, or treat as acknowledged, either this Urban or anyone else, without my choice and authority, you are violating the fealty you owe to me, and therein wronging me as much as if you were trying to rob me of my crown. Know, then, that you shall have no part in my realm unless I am fully satisfied of your renunciation in the plainest terms of all submission and obedience to this Urban.' When I heard this I was amazed. Formerly, as you know, I was an abbot in another realm, by the grace of God at peace with all men. I was constrained to come to this country not by hope or desire for episcopal office, but by certain just obligations, which I could in no wise decline. Now, when the king fell ill, all ye who were then with him urgently advised him to provide, before his death, for his mother and yours—I mean the Church of Canterbury—by the appointment of an archbishop. Well, then, your advice was accepted, and the king and you thought fit to appoint me to this office. I offered many objections, in my desire to escape the arch-



WALTHAM ABBEY, ESSEX (INTERIOR).

[*Valentine and Sons, Ltd.*]

bishopric,^f but you would not listen to them. I urged, among other things, that I had acknowledged as pope this very Urban, who is now the subject of complaint, and that I refused to withdraw from his obedience for a single hour; and at that time there was not a man who raised a single objection. Nay, you seized me and compelled me to take upon me the common burden, although I was so weak and exhausted that I could hardly stand. You thought, perhaps, that in so doing you were helping on my real wishes. But how much I desired it, what pleasure I have had in it, how I have enjoyed it, I think it unnecessary to say at the present moment, seeing that it is nothing to the purpose. But lest anyone, through ignorance of my real mind in this matter, find offence in my conduct, I declare with all sincerity that, had the choice been given me, I should have preferred that day—always saving my submission to the will of God—to be thrown on to a blazing stack to be burned, than to be promoted to the primacy. But seeing your importunity I yielded to you, and undertook the burden you imposed on me, relying upon the hope of your assistance which you promised. Now, then, the time is come, now the occasion offers, for you to lighten my burden by your counsel. For, in order that I might have it, I begged for an adjournment till to-day from that day on which the words I have repeated to you were spoken to me—that meeting together you might, by taking counsel together, decide whether I can, with all due allegiance to the king, maintain my obedience to the Apostolic See. I asked for an adjournment, I say, and I obtained it; and, lo! by the grace of

God you are all here. I beg and exhort you all, therefore—but especially you my brother bishops—to examine these matters diligently, with all the care that beseems you, and to give me counsel on which I may rely, so that I neither infringe my obedience to the pope nor violate the fealty I owe to our lord the king.

16. ANSELM'S ACCOUNT OF HIS TROUBLE WITH RUFUS.

'Epistolæ Anselmī,' lib. iii. 40.
[In Migne, 'Patrologia,' clix. 74.]

To his reverend Lord and Father, Paschal, Supreme Pontiff, Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, due and hearty submission, and the devotion of his prayers, if they aught avail.

That I delayed so long to send a messenger to your Highness, after I heard certain news of your elevation, for which I rejoiced and gave thanks to God, was because a certain envoy of the King of the English came to the venerable Archbishop of Lyons about my affairs, bringing, however, no proposal that could be accepted; hearing the archbishop's reply he returned to the king, promising soon to return to Lyons. I awaited his return, that I might know what I might be able to inform you as to the king's will; but he did not come. So now I put my case before you briefly, because during my stay at Rome I often detailed it to Pope Urban and many others, as I think your Holiness knows. I saw in England many evils, the correction of which fell to my duty, which I could neither correct nor, without sin, tolerate. For the king demanded of me, as of right,

that I should fall in with his wishes, which were contrary to the law and the will of God. For he refused that the pope should be acknowledged or appealed to in England without his authority; he forbade me to send a letter to him or to receive a letter from him or to obey his decrees. He has allowed no council to be held in his realm since his accession—that is now for thirteen years. The lands of the church he gave to his own men. If I sought advice on these and similar matters, all the men in this realm, and even my own suffragans, refused to give any but such as was agreeable to the king's wishes. Seeing these and many other things which are contrary to God's will and law, I sought leave from him to visit the Apostolic See, that I might there receive ghostly counsel as to the duty that was laid upon me. The king replied that I had acted wrongfully towards him by the mere request for this permission, and put it to me that I should either offer satisfaction for this matter, as for an offence, and give him guarantees that I should never again ask for this permission, and that I should never appeal to the pope, or that I should quit his realm forthwith. I chose rather to leave the country than to consent to such wickedness. I came to Rome, as you know, and laid the whole matter before our lord the pope. As soon as I left England, the king actually taxed the food and clothes of our monks, invaded the whole see and converted it to his own uses. Admonished and warned by Pope Urban to set this right, he paid no heed, and still persists in this.

It is now, the third year since I left England in

this way. The little money I brought with me and the large amount I borrowed, for which I am still a debtor, I have spent. . . . I pray and beseech you, therefore, with all the earnestness I may, that you on no account bid me return to England, unless under such conditions as may allow me to set the law and will of God and the apostolic decrees above the will of man. . . . For otherwise I should seem to prove that I ought to prefer man to God, and that I was justly deprived for wishing to have recourse to the Apostolic See. And it is evident how fatal and execrable a precedent this would be for posterity.

17. ACCESSION OF HENRY BEAUCLERC.

1100.

William of Malmesbury,
'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' [Rolls] ii. 467.
Latin. ? 1090 1142.

Henry, the youngest son of William the Great, was born in England three years after his father's arrival here; a child even then marked out by the good wishes of all, for he alone of all William's sons was born in royalty, and the kingdom seemed fittingly to belong to him. And so he spent the early years of learning in the school of letters, and so eagerly imbibed the honeyed delights of reading that in after-time no alarms of war, no cares of business, could dislodge them from his noble mind. And yet he did not read much openly, nor did he make much show of his learning; however, his literary education, to tell the truth, although so irregularly acquired, was a great training for government, in keeping with that

saying of Plato: 'Happy the state with philosophers for rulers or with its rulers philosophers. . . .'

Now, when King William was killed . . . Henry was chosen king, although some slight dissensions had first broken out among the nobles; they were, however, appeased, largely by the efforts of Henry, the righteous and upright Earl of Warwick, who had long been his intimate friend. Accordingly Henry immediately published a proclamation throughout England, by which he put a stop to the acts of injustice done by his brother and Ranulf Flambard, remitted taxation and released prisoners; he drove effeminate courtiers from his presence; he restored the mild rule of the ancient laws, confirming them with his own oath and that of all his lords, that they might not be tampered with. A day of gladness then seemed to bloom again for the people, when, after the storm-clouds of so many troubles, there shone forth this light of fair promise. And that nothing might be wanting to the great joy, Ranulf, the dregs of iniquity, was imprisoned in a dungeon, and swift messengers were sent to recall Anselm. Therefore, amid the enthusiastic applause of the people, he was crowned at London on August 5, four days after his brother's death. And all this was performed with the more despatch, lest the minds of the nobles should prove fickle and repent their choice, for a report was brought that Robert of Normandy was on the point of arriving on his way from Apulia.

18. HENRY I.'S CHARTER OF LIBERTIES.

1101.

Thorpe, 'Ancient Laws and Institutes,'
p 215 Latin.

In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1101. Henry, son of King William, after the death of his brother William, by the grace of God, King of the English, to all his lieges, greeting.

Know that I, by the mercy of God and by the common council of the barons of the whole realm of England, have been crowned king of the same realm; and because the realm was oppressed with unjust exactions, I, out of reverence for God and the love I feel towards you, first of all hereby make the holy church of God free, so that I will not sell nor put to farm, nor on the death of an archbishop or bishop or abbot, will I take aught from the estates of the church or from her men till a successor make entry therein. And all evil customs whereby the realm of England was wrongfully oppressed I abolish; and these evil customs I here do partly set forth.

If any of my barons, earls, or others who hold of me, shall die, his heir shall not redeem his land on the same terms as in my brother's reign, but by a just and lawful relief. So my barons' men shall redeem their lands from their lords by a just and lawful relief.

And if any of my barons or any other of my men wishes to give his daughter in marriage, or his sister or his niece or his cousin, let him confer with me thereon; but I will neither receive anything of his for this permission, nor will I forbid him to bestow her hand, unless he wishes to marry her to an enemy

of mine. And if a baron or any other man of mine leave a daughter as his heiress, I will give her in marriage, with her land, on the advice of my barons. And if a woman be left a widow without children, she shall have her dowry and right to marry, and I will only give her in marriage with her own consent.

But if a woman be left a widow with children, she too shall have her dowry and right of marriage, so long as she remain chaste, and I will not marry her against her will. And the guardian of the estates and the children shall be either the wife or some near kinsman if he have a juster claim. And I command my barons to deal in the same way with the sons or daughters or wives of their vassals.

The common mintage, which was held in cities and counties otherwise than in the time of King Edward, I absolutely forbid henceforth. If any one, either moneyer or other, be taken with false money, let right justice be done on him.

All pleas and debts owing to my brother I remit, except my proper farms, and those which had been agreed upon for inheritances of others or for those things which more rightly belonged to others. And if any one had pledged anything to secure his inheritance, that I remit, together with all reliefs which had been agreed upon for just inheritances.

And if any of my barons or vassals be ill, even as he shall give or arrange to give his money, so I allow it to be given. But if he, owing to war or illness, shall not give or arrange to give his money, his wife or children or relations and his lawful men shall divide it for his soul's sake, as shall seem best to them.

If any of my barons or vassals do amiss, he shall not be fined to the whole extent of his fortune, as happened in my father's time or my brother's, but according to the scale of the misdeed ; he shall pay such a fine as he would have paid previous to my father's time, in the time of my other predecessors. But if he shall be convicted of treason or felony, let him be fined as is just.

I pardon all murders committed before the day of my coronation ; those committed afterwards shall be punished justly according to the law of King Edward.

With the common consent of my barons, I retain the forests in my own hands, just as my father had them.

To the knights who hold their lands by military service, I grant of my own gift that their demesne lands be quit of all taxes and burden, so that, being freed from so great a load, they may be well equipped with horses and arms for my service and for the defence of my realm.

I establish firm peace throughout my realm, and order it to be observed henceforth.

I restore to you the law of King Edward, with such amendments as my father made with the advice of his barons.

If any shall have taken aught of my possessions or of any other man's after the death of my brother King William, let him restore the whole forthwith without abatement ; and if any shall keep back aught of the same, he in whose possession it shall be found shall pay me a heavy fine.

Witnesses · Mauricc Bishop of London, Bishop Gundulf, William bishop-elect, Earl Henry, Earl

Simon, Walter Giffard, Robert de Montfort, Roger Bigod, Henry de Port. In London—at my Coronation.

19. FEUDAL REBELLION—ROBERT OF BELLÈME.

1102—4.

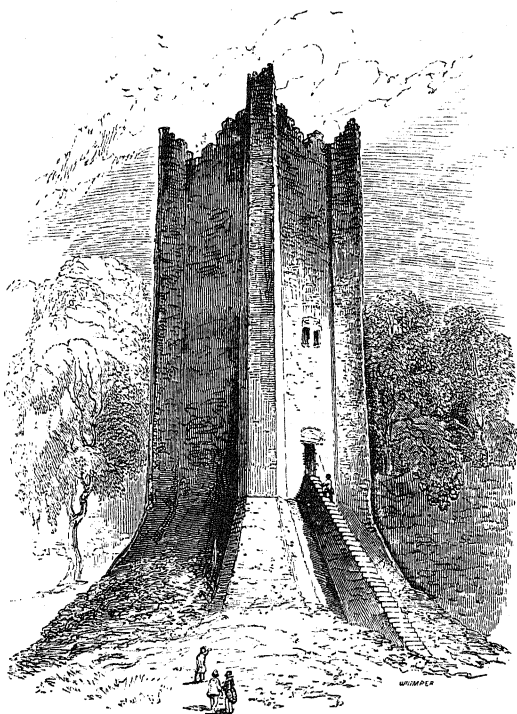
William of Malmesbury,

'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' [Rolls] II. 472.

Latin. ? 1090-1142.

In the following year Robert of Bellême, eldest son of Roger of Montgomery, rebelled, fortifying against the king the castles of Bridgnorth and Arundel; he carried thither corn from all the district round Shrewsbury, and everything necessary for a protracted war. The castle of Shrewsbury also joined in the rebellion, as the Welsh are ready for mischief on the slightest pretext. The king therefore, with firm intent, boldly meeting every mishap, collected an army and laid siege to Bridgnorth, which Robert had already quitted for Arundel, under the idea that the former stronghold was amply garrisoned with abundant supplies and brave troops; but a few days later, influenced both by guilty consciences and by the prowess of the royal army, the townsmen surrendered. At this news Arundel abated its insolence and put itself under the king's protection, subject, it is true, to the remarkable condition that its lord should be allowed to retire in personal safety to Normandy. Moreover, the men of Shrewsbury sent the king the keys of their castle by Ralph, who was at that time Abbot of Seez, and was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. So the fire of strife, which it was expected would be serious, died away in a very few days. . . . Robert and his brothers

. . . abjured England for ever, but the stringency of the oath was qualified by a proviso—‘unless he should at some future time satisfy the king by dutiful obedience.’



CONINGSBURGH CASTLE (EXTERIOR).

Then the torch of war took hold on Normandy, and, heartened as it were with fresh fuel from the arrival of the traitors, blazed up and seized everything within reach. For Normandy, although not a very big country, is a convenient and passive support

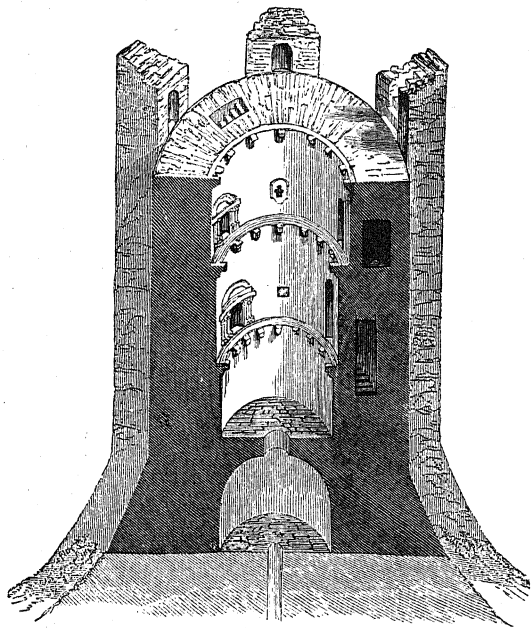
of transgressors; and so she well endures long internal strife, and when peace is restored she rises more prosperous than ever, at her pleasure sending out her disturbers, once detected, by easy outlets



CONINGSBURGH CASTLE (INTERIOR).

into France. On the other hand, England does not suffer the unruly long, and, when once she has received them into her bosom, she either surrenders or exterminates them; nor, when laid waste by devastation, does she soon raise her reviving head.

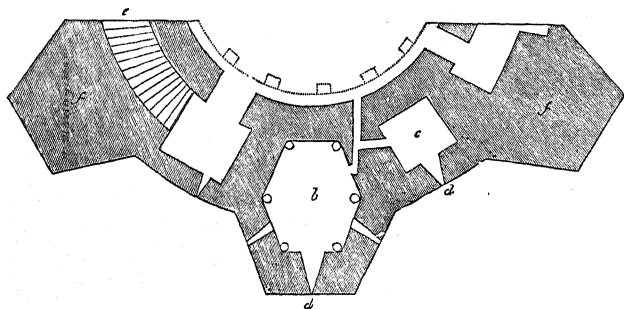
Wherefore Bellême, on arriving in Normandy, both then and afterwards, had allies and abettors in his villainy. Among these was William, Count of Mortain, son of the king's uncle Robert. He, ever from boyhood, had been jealous of Henry's fame,



SECTION OF CONINGSBURGH CASTLE.

and then, especially on the Norman's arrival, gave scope to his ignoble mind; for, not content with two counties, Mortain in Normandy and Cornwall in England, he demanded from the king the earldom of Kent, formerly held by his uncle Odo. So troublesome and insolent was he that he vowed he would

not put on his cloak till he recovered his inheritance, which he said was denied him by his cousin. But even then, by the subtle cleverness of an ambiguous reply, the king, with his usual caution, beguiled him; but when the commotion settled down, and the calm of peace was restored, not only did he not grant what William wanted, but began to get back what he still unjustly kept—always with self-restraint and



HALF-PLAN OF CONINGSBURGH CASTLE.

a, Centre apartment; *b*, chapel in buttress; *c*, oratory; *dd*, loopholes;
e, staircase; *ff*, buttresses.

under legal forms, so that none of his actions should appear illegal or inequitable. Then William, ousted by sentence of the courts, went off to Normandy in the greatest indignation and fury. There, in addition to his fruitless assaults upon the royal castles, he attacked Richard, Earl of Chester, son of Hugh; some parts of his estates he invaded, harried, and devastated. Richard was then a minor, and was in the king's protection and guardianship.

20. ANSELM'S RECALL.

1100.

'Epistolæ Anselmi,' lib. iii. 41.

[In Migne, 'Patrologia,' clix. 75.]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of the English, to his most holy spiritual father, Anselm, Bishop of Canterbury, greeting and proof of all friendship.

Know, dearest father, that my brother, King William, is dead, and I, by the will of God, being chosen by the clergy and people of England, and though against my will, on account of your absence, already consecrated king, together with the whole people of England, call upon you as my father to come with all the speed you may, and give counsel to me, your son, and to this same people whose souls have been committed to your care. Myself, indeed, and the people of the whole realm of England, I commit to your guidance, and to theirs who ought to join with you in this service; and I pray you be not displeased that I was consecrated king by others than yourself; for had it been possible, I would rather have been consecrated by you than by anyone else. But it was a case of necessity, for my enemies were ready to rise against me and the people whom I have to govern; and so my barons, and the people too, would not have my consecration further postponed; in such circumstances, therefore, I received it from your suffragans. I would have sent you some of my courtiers with a gift of money, but the whole realm of England has been so upset by my brother's death, that they could not have reached you safely. I therefore suggest and advise that you should not come by way of Normandy, but by Wissant, and I

will have my barons at Dover to meet you with money ; and you will find, with God's help, wherewithal to pay whatever loans you have borrowed. Make haste therefore, father, and come, that our mother the Church of Canterbury, long agitated and distressed on your account, may no longer have to endure the loss of souls. Farewell.

21. ANSELM AND INVESTITURES—REPLY TO THE KING'S OVERTURES.

' Epistolæ Anselmī,' lib. iii. 88.

[In Migne, 'Patrologia,' clx. 125]

To his revered lord, Henry, King of the English, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, his faithful service and prayers.

Although you will learn through William of Warewast what we did at Rome, yet I will briefly set forth what concerns myself. I came to Rome, and I explained to the pope why I had come. He replied that he was resolved on no account to depart from the decrees of his predecessors, and, moreover, bade me have no communion with those who receive investitures of churches at your hands, after notice of this prohibition, unless they should do penance and abandon what they had received, without hope of recovery ; nor was I to have communion with bishops who consecrated such persons, unless they submitted themselves to the judgment of the Apostolic Sec. Of all this the aforesaid William may be a witness, if he will. And this William, when we had severally left Rome, reminding me on your part of the love and kindness you have always shown me, admonished me, as your archbishop, that

I should so bear myself that I might return to England and be on the same footing with you as my predecessor was with your father; in which case you would treat me with the same honour and liberality as your father treated my predecessor. And from these words I understood that, unless I so ordered myself, you did not desire my return to England.

For your love and good-will I thank you. But be in the same relationship to you as my predecessor was to your father I cannot, because I can neither do you homage, nor, by reason of the prohibition aforesaid made in my hearing, dare I hold communion with those who receive investiture of churches at your hands. Wherefore I pray you, if it please you, to let me know your will: whether it be possible for me to return to England on the terms I have indicated, with your peace and the authority of my office. For I am ready, to the best of my strength and skill, with all due obedience, faithfully to discharge the duties of my office both to you and to the people entrusted to me by the Divine Providence. But if it shall not please you to receive me, I think that any loss of souls that may result will not be through any fault of mine.

May Almighty God so reign in your heart that you may reign for ever in His grace. Amen.

22. THE COMPROMISE OVER INVESTITURES.

1106.

'Epistolæ Paschalis,' lib. ii., No. 170.

[In Migne, 'Patrologia,' clxiii 186.]

Paschal, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting and benediction.

Since the grace of Almighty God has inclined the heart of the English king towards obedience to the Apostolic See, we give thanks to the same Lord for His mercies, for in His hand are the hearts of kings. This assuredly we believe is the outcome of your love and the importunity of your prayers, that in this respect the Divine compassion should turn towards that people which is your charge and anxious care. Be assured that this our condescension to the king, and those who appear to be guilty, comes of our love and compassion, that so we may raise up the fallen. For he who stands upright, and stretches not forth his hands to the fallen to raise him up, will never lift him—no, not unless he bend down to him. . . . Therefore, venerable and dearest brother in Christ, we absolve you from that prohibition, or excommunication as you consider it, pronounced by our predecessor, Pope Urban of holy memory, against investitures and homage. Receive therefore, and, on our authority, absolve, the Lord helping you therein, those who have received investitures or who have consecrated those who have done so, or who have done homage. Either consecrate them yourself, or depute their consecration to whom you will, unless of course you find in them some other reason for excluding them from the holy ministry. . . . Such as hereafter shall receive preferments without in-

vestiture, even though they do homage to the king, must by no means on that account be refused consecration: until, by the grace of Almighty God, the king's heart may be softened by the outpourings of your admonitions to forego this claim. . . . And now, since Almighty God has granted you this great reform in the realm of England, to the honour of Him and of His church, be it your care henceforth to treat the king and his nobles with such forbearance, discretion, wisdom, and foresight, that the still existing scandals may, with the help of our Lord God, be reformed by your zealous care. . . .
March 23.

23. HENRY'S REGARD FOR ANSELM.

1106.

'Epistolæ Anselmī,' lib. iv. 75.

[In Migne, 'Patrologia,' clix 240.]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of the English, to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, his dearest father, greeting and friendship.

Know, kind father, that I am sorely grieved, as I ought, at your bodily pain and infirmity. And know that, had I not been waiting for you here, I should now have been in Normandy. For I should have been right glad to see you before leaving my realm; but now I pray you, as a son his father, that for a while you be more indulgent to your physical needs, and be not so [severe in the care of your body]. I also will and enjoin that you have authority throughout all my Norman possessions, just as on your own estates, and my heart will rejoice if you will so do. Await me now in Normandy, for I shall be crossing immediately. Witness, Walderic, at Windsor.

24. ORDER FOR THE HOLDING OF THE COURTS OF THE HUNDRED AND THE SHIRE: HENRY I.

1108.

Translated from Latin of 'Fœdera,' l. 12,
quoted by Stubbs,
'Select Charters,' 8th ed., p. 104

Henry, King of the English, to Bishop Samson and to Urso of Abetot and all his barons, French and English, greeting. Know that I grant and ordain that my shire courts and hundred courts shall sit in those places and at those times as they sat in the time of King Edward, and not otherwise. For I, when I choose, shall have them summoned at my will on account of my royal necessities. And if there arise any suit about the division of lands, if it is between barons who are my tenants in demesne, it shall be tried in my own court; and if it is between the men of two lords it shall be dealt with in the shire court. This shall be done by duel unless it be determined by their lords. And I will and ordain that all the people in the shire go to the shire court and the hundred as they did in the time of King Edward, and that those who do not attend my pleas and my courts as they used to at that time do not for any reason interfere with my peace and tranquillity.

25. THE SHIRE AND HUNDRED COURTS.

Thorpe, 'Ancient Laws and Institutes,'
p. 222. Latin ? 1108-1118.

As was established by ancient rule and by the king's wholesome governance, and was lately confirmed by truthful evidence, the general pleas of the shires ought to be heard in the several provinces of

England, in certain places and circuits and at a fixed time; and they should not be held at the cost of any further weariness, unless the king's own need or the common interest of the realm impose more frequent sessions.

There should be present bishops, earls, sheriffs, deputies, hundredmen, aldermen, reeves, bailiffs, barons, subtenants, town-reeves, and other land-owners, all taking earnest care that the wicked go not unpunished, or the powerful work unrighteousness, or judges be corrupted—the usual torture and destruction of the poor.

Let the first business, therefore, be the proper duties of true Christianity; the second, the king's pleas; lastly, let the cases of private individuals be settled by suitable arrangements; and whomsoever the shiremoot finds at variance, let it bring together in amity or keep apart by judgment.

The shiremoot and the burgmoot should meet twice a year, the hundred and the wapentake twelve times; they should be summoned six days before, unless the public interest or the king's needs forestall the time.

And if any business which is to be transacted in the hundred courts has to be adjourned owing to want of judges or any other chance to two or three or more sessions, let the settlement be effected fairly.

And if anyone by violently withholding or detaining what is right shall have so fouled his case in the hundred courts, or in similar places for transacting business, that it is referred for hearing to the shire-court, let him lose it, and make proper composition therefor.

If any of the king's barons or others be present according to law in the shire court, he shall be able to acquit all the land he holds there in domain. Similarly if his steward is there lawfully for him. If both are necessarily absent, the bailiff, the priest, and four best men of the vill, can sit for all not summoned by name to the suit.

We have decreed that the same regulations as to place, time, and authority of the judges, etc., be observed in the hundred courts.

At a special full court, if need be, let all free men come together twice a year into their hundred court, whether they have settled dwellings or be house-retainers, to discover, among other things, if the tithings are full, or who and for what reason any have quitted or added to them. Let the tithing man be at the head of his nine, and one of the better sort be over the whole hundred; and let him be called alderman; he shall seek with all watchful care to further the laws of God and the rights of man.

With provident forethought for the common good, it is decreed that whosoever cares to be reckoned *wcr-worth* or *wite-worth*, in the case of a free man,¹ should from his twelfth year be in hundred or tithing or frankpledge. Hired persons, or paid soldiers, or mercenaries, shall be held in their lords' pledge.

And every lord shall have with him those who are amenable to his justice, so that he may bring them to justice if at fault, or perchance be himself responsible for them.

¹ *Wcr* = 'the pecuniary estimation of a man, by which the value of his oath and the payment for his death were determined.' *Wite* = 'a mulct, a payment by way of punishment, opposed to *bot*, which is compensation to the injured'

26. ACCESSION OF STEPHEN.

1135.

Saxon Chronicle,

Translated from Old English by B. Thorpe,

[Rolls] II. 229.

In this year King Henry went over sea at Lammas (August 1); and the second day, as he lay and slept in the ship, the day darkened over all lands, and the sun became, as it were, a three-night-old moon, and the stars about it at midday. Men were greatly wonder-stricken and affrighted, and said that a great thing should come hereafter. So it did, for that same year the king died, on the following day after St. Andrew's mass-day (December 2), in Normandy.

Then there was tribulation soon in the land; for every man that could forthwith robbed another. Then his son [Robert, Earl of Gloucester] and his friends took his body and brought it to England, and buried it at Reading. A good man he was, and there was great awe of him. No man durst misdo against another in his time. He made peace for man and beast. Whoso bare his burthen of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good.

In the meanwhile his nephew, Stephen of Blois, came over to England, and came to London, and the London folk received him, and sent after the archbishop, William Corbeil, and hallowed him king on Midwinter Day. In this king's time all was strife and evil and rapine; for against him soon rose the powerful men who were traitors. The first of all Baldwin de Redvers, who held Exeter against him; and the king besieged it, and then Baldwin capitulated. Then the others took and held their castles

against him; and David, King of Scotland, took to vex him. Then, notwithstanding that, their messengers passed between them, and they came together and were reconciled, though it was to little purpose.

27. ACCESSION OF STEPHEN: ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

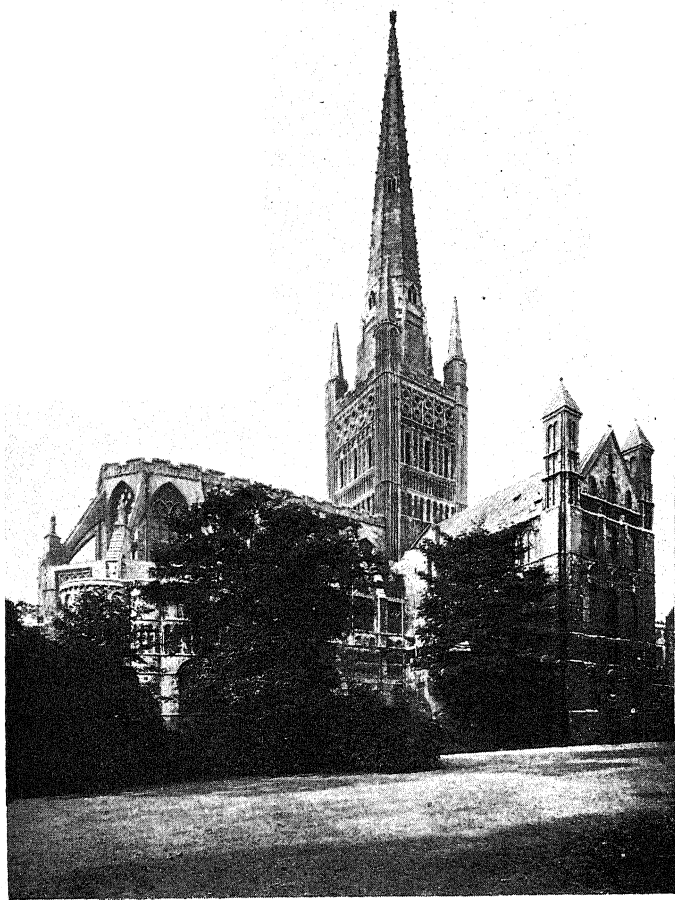
1135.

‘Gesta Stephani, Regis Anglorum’

[Rolls, ‘Chronicles of Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.’], iii. 4.

Latin. *Contemporary*.

In the meantime, while the English were indulging in this unhappy disorder, and were wantonly breaking out into every sort of excess, without regard to the restraints of law and justice, Stephen, Count of Boulogne, a man of the noblest descent, landed in England with a few followers. He was the peace-loving king Henry’s favourite nephew. . . . He was indeed the rarest of characters among the great men of our time—wealthy and modest, munificent and kindly; but in all active warfare . . . intrepid and brave, prudent and cautious. This prince, then, as soon as he had heard the report of King Henry’s death, conceived, like Saul, a great thought in his heart; hastening to the coast of the country overseas in which he was, he found a favourable breeze and sailed for England. And after landing, as we have just remarked, with a very small retinue, he hastened to march on London, the capital of the country. Forthwith at his approach that city went out to meet him with shouts of joy; and whereas she was mourning the lamentable loss of her defender Henry, now she revelled in festive gladness, as if she had got



NORWICH CATHEDRAL

[S. B. Bolas and Co.]

The present cathedral was built between 1096 and 1145. The original plan has been so little altered that here we have a perfect example of a purely Norman design. The cathedral has a remarkably long and narrow nave, which is loftier than most Norman naves, transepts, and a choir with apsidal chapels.

him back again in the person of Stephen. So the elders and sager counsellors called together a council, and, seeing what was best for the common weal in the present condition of the realm, unanimously agreed to elect him king. For they said that the whole realm was exposed to the chances of ill fortune when there was no visible head of law and government. They argued, therefore, that it was worth their while to appoint immediately a king who would restore peace for the advantage of all, meet rebels in the field, and administer the laws with justice. Moreover, they contended that this was their right and special privilege, that if their king happened to die it was their business to appoint another to succeed him. And they had no one else to put an end to the great dangers of the realm by acting as king except this Stephen, who had been brought to them, as they thought, by the Divine will: and he seemed to all of them excellently fitted for this office, both by high birth and upright character. . . .

And so Stephen, after securing so happily the title of king and the crown of the realm, valiantly took up arms to secure peace in the kingdom; and going boldly forth against the robbers, who had laid waste the surrounding country, he earned loud praises right at the beginning of his reign.

28. THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD.

1138.

John of Hexham, died *circa* 1209
Translated by J. Stevenson in 'Church
Historians of England,' IV 1. 9

In the same year, and at the same period, namely in autumn, King David, having united his forces,

directed his march into Yorkshire ; having in the meanwhile sent two of his barons, with a number of men, to besiege Wark. Eustace Fitz-John, from whom King Stephen had taken Bamborough, joined him with his troupe of soldiers, as an ally. This man had in Northumberland a very strong castle at Alnwick, and another in Yorkshire, namely Malton. They marched therefore by Bamborough ; and the young men of this place, rashly presuming on the strength of the wall which they had built before the castle, annoyed with taunts the Scots as they passed by. The Scots, provoked in temper, forthwith set themselves to the destruction of the wall, and, speedily breaking in, killed all on whom they laid hands.

At that time Archbishop Thurstan, of sacred memory, presided over the Church of York, a man of unyielding firmness of mind in prosperity or adversity, advanced in years and feeble in body, so that he had to be carried on a litter wherever the pressure of affairs demanded. He called out the nobles of Yorkshire, and by the watchfulness of his pastoral care he stirred them up to a steady resistance. There came also Bernard de Baliol, a man well skilled in military tactics, bringing with him soldiers sent by King Stephen to this undertaking. Gathering, therefore, great courage from their joint deliberation, they mutually bound themselves by oaths to firmness and assurance. Having therefore sought the favour of God by a three days' fast and by alms, and being strengthened by the archbishop's absolution and blessing, all, animated by one purpose of mind, advanced to the town of Thirsk. Thence

Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol went to the King of Scotland, on the Tees, promising his son Henry the earldom of Northumberland, and exhorting him to cease from this invasion. The king refused to acquiesce. Robert therefore absolved himself from the homage which he had done him for the barony which he held of him in Galloway, and Bernard from the fealty which he had formerly promised; and so they returned to their comrades. They all, marching to Northallerton, erected, in a certain plain belonging to the franchise of St. Cuthbert, the standard—that is, a ship's mast—hanging over it the banner of St. Peter and St. John of Beverley and St. Wilfrid of Ripon; and they placed over them the body of the Lord, to be their standard-bearer and the leader of their battle. Archbishop Thurstan then sent with them Ralph Novellus, his suffragan bishop, and other men qualified to receive their confession, and to build them up by means of satisfaction in the hope of a future life. The archbishop himself, prudently withdrawn by the chiefs from this march to battle, was with his clergy instant in prayers and supplications, in much affliction and sorrow of heart, until it was told him how great a deliverance God vouchsafed to His people. So then, on the octave of the assumption of St. Mary, being Monday, August 22, the whole army assembled round the standard, the horses having been sent to a distance, lest anyone should conceive the thought of flight, all with one impulse determining to die or conquer for their country. . . .

The King of Scotland now advanced with his troops in battle array, the Scots being disposed in

the first line; they to a man demanding for themselves this position, for the honour of their country. Naked and almost unarmed, these men advanced against battalions clad in mail, and thereby rendered invulnerable. . . . The king believed that his bond required him to conquer or die, out of regard to the oath which he had sworn to the heirs of King Henry, and the whole of England with him. The Scots and Picts with difficulty resisted from the first hour of the commencement of the conflict to the third; for they found themselves pierced and destroyed by arrows, overwhelmed and overthrown. They all stole away from the field, casting away their baggage; and in scorn of this affair, that place was called Bagmoor. Soon the firmness of the rest of the army was shaken and weakened. The chiefs therefore induced the king to call in the horses, and march off with his ranks unbroken, lest he too should perish with his men. The army of York did not pursue the fugitives, but each man hastened to return to his own place. Very many of the Scots, struggling in ignorance of the locality, were put to death wherever they were found. Moreover, the very ranks of the Scots and Picts, when they encountered each other in their retreat, striving in useless enmity, destroyed themselves. The king therefore, having regained his kingdom, fined the Scots and Picts, whom he summoned to his presence, in a large sum of money, and received hostages and oaths from them, that in every conflict and danger they would faithfully stand by him and for him. The King of England also, elated with these triumphs of his, made William de Albemarle earl in Yorkshire, and Robert de Ferrers earl in Derbyshire.

29. THE ANARCHY OF STEPHEN'S REIGN.

1135-1154.

Saxon Chronicle.

Translated from Old English by B Thorpe,
[Rolls] ii. 230.

When King Stephen came to England [in 1139], he held an assembly at Oxford, and there he took the Bishop Roger of Salisbury, and Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and the Chancellor Roger, his nephew, and put them all into prison, till they gave up their castles. When

[*T. Fisher Unwin*

SANCTUARY RING.

the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and soft, and good, and did no justice, then did they all wonder. They had done homage to him, and sworn oaths, but had held no faith; they were all forsworn, and forfeited their troth; for every powerful man made his castles, and held them against him; and they filled the land full of castles. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men

of the land with castle-works. When the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then took they those men that they imagined had any property, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with unutterable torture; for never were martyrs so tortured as they

were. They hanged them up by the feet, and smoked them with foul smoke; they hanged them by the thumbs or by the head, and hung fires on their feet; they put knotted strings about their heads, and writhed them so that it went to the brain. They put them in dungeons, in which were adders and snakes and toads, and killed them so. Some they put in a 'cruet hûs'—that is, in a chest that was short and narrow and shallow, and put sharp stones therein, and pressed the man therein, so that they brake all his limbs. . . .

Many thousands they killed with hunger; I neither can nor may tell all the wounds or all the tortures which they inflicted on wretched men in this land; and that lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king; and ever it was worse and worse. They laid imposts on the towns continually, and called it 'censerie.' When the wretched men had no more to give, they robbed and burned all the towns, so that thou mightest well go all a day's journey, and thou shouldst never find a man sitting in a town, or the land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh and cheese and butter; for there was none in the land. Wretched men died of hunger; some went seeking alms who at one while were rich men; some fled out of the land . . . If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, imagining them to be robbers. The bishops and clergy constantly cursed them, but nothing came of it; for they were all accursed and forsworn and lost.

30. THE CIVIL WAR.

Saxon Chronicle.

Translated from Old English by B. Thorpe,
[Rolls] ii. 233.

After this waxed a very great war betwixt the king and Randolph, Earl of Chester ; not because that he gave him not all that he could ask from him, as he did to all others ; but ever the more he gave them, the worse they were to him. The earl held Lincoln against the king, and took from him all that he ought to have. And the king went thither and besieged him and his brother, William de Roumare, in the castle. And the earl stole out, and went after Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and brought him thither with a great force ; and they fought obstinately on Candlemas Day [February 2] against their lord, and took him ; for his men deserted him and fled. And they led him to Bristol, and there put him into prison. . . .

Then was all England stirred more than it ere was, and all evil was in the land. After that came King Henry's daughter, who had been Empress of Almaine, and was now Countess of Anjou, and came to London. . . . Afterwards the Bishop of Winchester, Henry, the brother of King Stephen, spoke with Earl Robert, and with the empress, and swore oaths to them that he never more would hold with the king his brother, and cursed all the men who held with him ; and said to them that he would give Winchester up to them, and made them come thither. When they were therein, then came the king's queen with all her strength and besieged them,

so that there was great hunger therein. When they could no longer hold out they stole out and fled. And they without were aware and followed them, and took Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and led him to Rochester and there put him in prison; and the empress fled to a monastery. Then went wise men betwixt the king's friends and the earl's friends, and so agreed: that the king should be let out of prison for the earl, and the earl for the king, and they so did. . . .

Then was England much divided; some held with the king, and some with the empress; for when the king was in prison, the earls and the great men imagined that he never more would come out; and agreed with the empress, and brought her to Oxford and gave her the burgh. When the king was out, he heard that say, and took his force and besieged her in the tower; and she was let down by night from the tower with ropes, and she stole out and fled, and went on foot to Wallingford. After that she went over sea, and they of Normandy all turned from the king to the Count of Anjou, some voluntarily, some by compulsion, for he besieged them till they gave up their castles; and they had no help from the king. . . .

And the Count of Anjou died, and his son Henry succeeded to the county. And the Queen of France parted from the king, and she came to the young count Henry, and all Portou with her. He then went with a great force to England and won castles; and the king went against him with a much larger force; and yet they fought not; but the archbishop and the wise men went betwixt them and made this agreement. that the king should be lord and king

while he lived; and after his day Henry should be king; and he should hold him as a father, and he him as a son, and peace and concord should be betwixt them and in all England. This and the other compacts which they made, the king and the count and the bishops, and all the powerful men, swore to observe. The count was then received at Winchester and at London with great worship; and all did him homage and swore to hold the pacification. And it was soon a very good pacification, such as never had been before; and the count went over sea; and all folk loved him, for he did good justice and made peace.

31. THE ACCESSION OF HENRY II.

1154

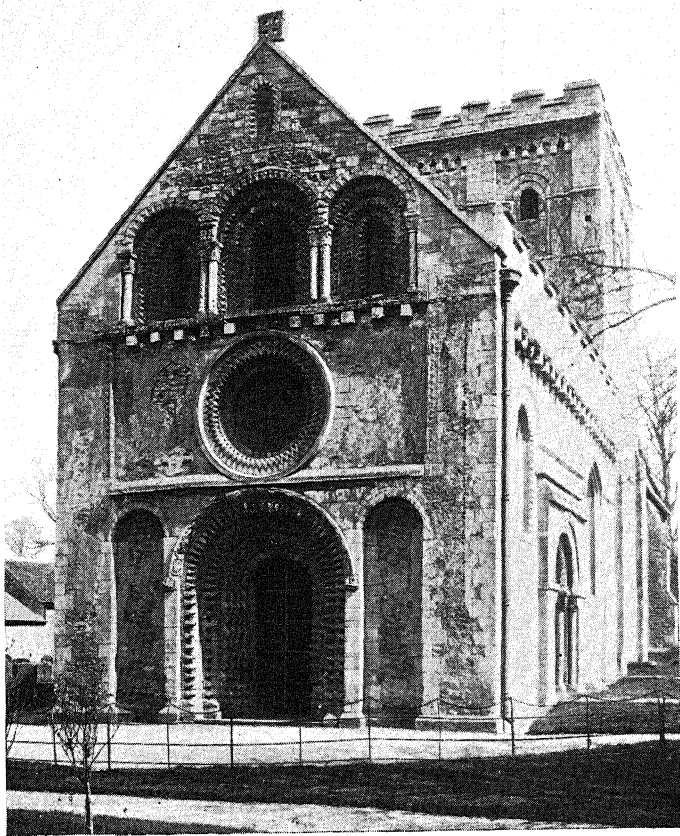
William of Newburgh,

'Historia Rerum Anglicarum,'

'Chronicles of Reigns of Stephen,

Henry II., and Richard I.,' Rolls, i. 101. Latin. *Circa* 1196.

In the year of our Lord 1154, Henry, grandson of Henry I. by his daughter, formerly empress, came from Normandy to England, after the death of King Stephen, and succeeded to his realm by inheritance, being acclaimed of all. He was anointed and consecrated king, the crowds throughout England crying: 'Long live the king!' For having experienced the misery of the former reign, during which so many evils were rife, they hoped better things of the new prince, especially as he seemed to be possessed of great wisdom and firmness and love of justice, and as he gave the impression of being a great prince from his earliest acts. In fact, he ordered by proclamation that all those foreigners who in the reign of King Stephen had flocked into England, really for plunder,



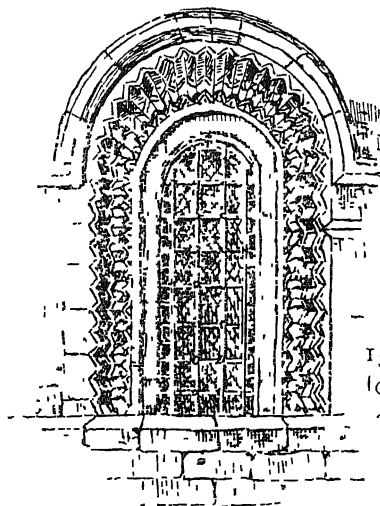
[H. W. Taunt and Co.]

IFFLEY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE. (WEST FRONT.)

The church dates from 1135 to 1160. This west front is one of the richest specimens of Norman work in England.

but ostensibly as mercenaries—especially Flemings, a very great number of whom were at that time infesting England—should return to their own countries, appointing therefor a fixed day, beyond which sojourn in England would be at their own great peril. Alarmed at this proclamation, they cleared away so quickly that they seemed to have gone like ghosts in

a moment, surprising many by the manner of their sudden disappearance.



NORMAN WINDOW AT IFFLEY.

Immediately afterwards he gave orders for the leveling of the new castles, which had not been in existence in his grandfather's time, with the exception of a few in especially good positions, which he determined either to hold him-

self or to put into the hands of peaceful custodians for the protection of the realm. He was intent above all things on public order, and he gave all his mind to restoring the force of the laws in England, for under King Stephen this force seemed dead and buried. Officers of right and law were appointed in every part of the realm, to restrain the arrogance of wrongdoers or to do justice to litigants according to

the merits of their cases ; thus the king either could take his pleasure or attend to state business.

As often as his judges were remiss or corrupt, and he was assailed by the complaints of the people, he applied the remedy of his royal revision, adequately correcting their negligence or excess. Such was the beginning of the new reign, much to the gratification and approval of those who were peaceably inclined, while evildoers muttered in terror. The ravening wolves fled or were changed to sheep ; or if they did not really change, yet they dwelt harmlessly amid the flock for fear of the law. Swords were beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks ; none learned war any more. But all either enjoyed the leisure of that long-desired tranquillity now vouchsafed them by a gracious God, or were intent upon their business.

Now reflecting that the royal revenues, which in his grandfather's time had been ample, were now but small, because, through the easy slackness of King Stephen, they had, for the most part, passed into the hands of many others, the king commanded them to be restored intact by the usurpers, no matter who they were, and to be brought back to their former status and condition. Now such as had previously become proprietors in royal towns or villages produced charters, which they had either extorted from King Stephen or earned by their services, thinking that they would save them. But as the charters of a usurper ought rightly not to prejudice at all the claim of a lawful prince, they could not save themselves in the slightest by these documents. And so at first they were indignant,

but afterwards were disheartened and terrified, and so resigned, certainly with reluctance, but in their entirety all the same, all their usurpations, which they had held so long as if by unchallenged title. And when all throughout the realm, with one exception, about whom we shall have a few words to say later, yielded to the royal will, the king advanced north of the Humber, and summoned William, Earl of Albemarle (who in Stephen's reign had been more of a king there than his master) to surrender to his authority. He hesitated for a long time, and was greatly wroth, but at length, though sorely hurt, yielded to the king's power, and whatever he had held for many years out of the royal domain he resigned, especially the famous and noble castle of Scarborough.

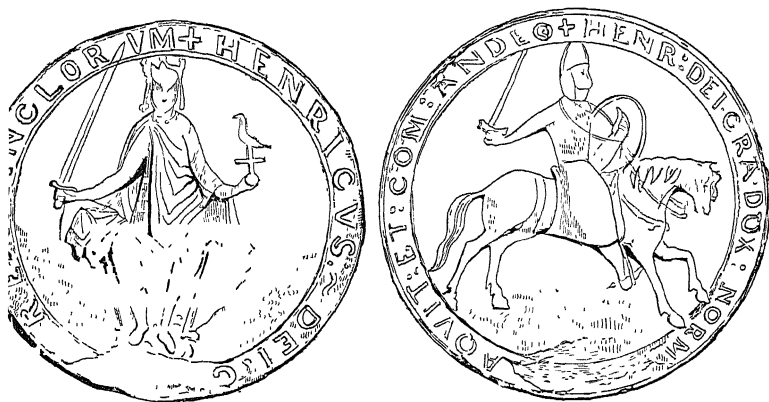
32. DESCRIPTION OF HENRY II.

Peter of Blois,
'Epistole' (ed. Giles, Oxford, 1847),
1. 50, 51, 193-195.
Latin. *Contemporary*

If the king has promised to spend the day anywhere, especially if a herald had publicly proclaimed that such is his royal will, you may be sure that he will start off early in the morning, and by his sudden change of mind will throw everybody's plans into confusion. You may see men running about as if they were mad, urging on the pack-horses, driving chariots one into another, and everything in a state of confusion. The tumult is such as to give you a vivid picture of the infernal regions. But if the king declares his intention of going to a certain place

early the next morning, he will undoubtedly change his mind, and you may be sure that he will sleep till midday. You will see the pack-horses waiting under their loads, the chariots standing ready, the couriers falling asleep, the purveyors uneasy, and everybody grumbling. . . .

After the weariness of long uncertainty we would have the comfort of learning that we were to stay in a place where there was prospect of food and lodging. Then there would be such confusion and running



GREAT SEAL OF HENRY II

about of footmen and horsemen that you would think the infernal regions had broken open. But when our couriers had already gone the whole day's journey, or almost the whole, the king would change his mind and turn aside to some other place, where perhaps he had only one house and provisions enough for himself, but not enough to share: and I believe, if I dared to say it, that his pleasure was increased by

the straits to which we were put. After wandering about three or four miles through an unknown forest, and frequently in the dark, we would think our prayers were answered if we found by chance some mean, filthy hut. There was often fierce and bitter contention over these hovels, and courtiers fought with drawn swords for a lodging that it would have been disgraceful for pigs to fight for. I sometimes became separated from my own people, and could hardly get them together again in three days. O God almighty, Thou art King of kings and Lord of lords, who art terrible to the kings of the earth, who dost take away the breath of princes and dost give health to kings, in Thy power is the heart of the king to turn whithersoever Thou dost will. Turn and convert the heart of this king from this unwholesome manner of life, that he may know that he is a man, and may learn to show royal grace and consideration and human compassion to the men who are drawn after him, not by ambition, but by necessity. . . .

You ask me to send you an accurate description of the appearance and character of the King of England. That surpasses my powers, for the genius of a Vergil would hardly be equal to it. That which I know, however, I will ungrudgingly share with you. Concerning David, we read that it was said of him, as evidence for his beauty, that he was ruddy. You may know, then, that our king is still ruddy, except as old age and whitening hair have changed his colour a little. He is of medium stature, so that among small men he does not seem large, nor yet among large men does he seem small. His head is spherical, as if the abode of great wisdom and the special

sanctuary of lofty intelligence. The size of his head is in proportion to the neck and the whole body. His eyes are full, guileless and dove-like when he is at peace, gleaming like fire when his temper is aroused, and in bursts of passion they flash like lightning. As to his hair, he is in no danger of baldness, but his head has been closely shaved. He has a broad, square, lion-like face. His feet are arched, and he has the legs of a horseman. His broad chest and muscular arms show him to be a strong, bold, active man. His hands show by their coarseness that he is careless and pays little attention to his person, for he never wears gloves except when he goes hawking. . . . Although his legs are bruised and livid from hard riding, he never sits down except when on horseback or at meals. On a single day, if necessary, he travels a journey of four or five days, and thus anticipating the plans of his enemies he baffles their devices by his sudden movements . . .

He is a passionate lover of the woods, and when not engaged in war he exercises with birds and dogs. . . . He does not loiter in his palace like other kings, but, hurrying through the provinces, he investigates what is being done everywhere, and is specially strict in his judgment of those whom he has appointed as judges of others. There is no one keener in counsel, of more fluent eloquence, no one who has less anxiety in danger or more in prosperity, or who is more courageous in adversity. If he has once loved any one, he rarely ceases to love him, while one for whom he has once taken a dislike he seldom admits to his favour. He always has his weapons in his hands when not engaged in consulta-

tion or at his books. When his cares and anxieties allow him to breathe he occupies himself with reading, or in a circle of clerks tries to solve some knotty question.

33. ANOTHER VIEW OF HENRY II.

Ralph Niger (ed. Anstruther), pp. 167-169 ;
Latin. *Contemporary*.

When he came to the throne he appointed slaves, bastards, and vagabonds, to the chief offices in his kingdom. Illustrious men who were accused of crimes of a moral character, but were otherwise irreproachable, he deprived entirely of their estates or annihilated them by gradually stealing bits of their property. He made bishops and abbots of the servants of his household or of the jesters at court. He made an unheard-of law about the forests, by which those who had committed no other breach of law suffered perpetual punishment. He prevented men of high position from marrying or giving in marriage without his leave, and those who transgressed he punished as traitors. . . . He kept for his own use or sold other people's inheritances. In deciding to which courts cases should go, he showed a pettifogging spirit, and even sold decisions.

34. THE KING OF SCOTS AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

1155-1157.

William of Newburgh,
'Historia Rerum Anglicarum,'
'Chronicles of Reigns of Stephen,

Henry II., and Richard I.,' Rolls, 1. 105. Latin *Circa* 1196.

1155: So the king, fresh from his success in Yorkshire, marched north and found but one rebel, Hugh

Mortimer, a valiant noble, who for many years past had occupied the royal castle of Bridgnorth. But when he was ordered to be content with his own, and to restore all crown property, he flatly refused, and prepared to offer resistance by all possible means. But it was soon evident that his strength was no match for his pride and wrath. For the king quickly gathered together an army and laid siege to Bridgnorth; and taking it after a few days' vigorous assault, he pardoned Hugh, now a humble suppliant, though but lately his heart had been as the heart of a lion.

1157: The King of Scots was occupying as in his own right the northern counties of England, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland — which had been acquired by David, King of Scots, in right of Matilda the empress and her heir; him Henry now gave to understand that the King of England must not be defrauded of so great a part of his realm, and could not tolerate such encroachments; and pointed out the justice of restoring what had been acquired after all in his own right. Malcolm therefore, wisely reflecting that the King of England could support herein with overwhelming strength the justice of his cause, although he might have urged the oath which Henry was said to have taken to his grandfather David at the time when he received knighthood at his hands, yet restored the counties mentioned in their entirety at his request, and received from him in return the earldom of Huntingdon, on which he had a long-standing claim. So after this settlement England for a time enjoyed peace and security within her borders; and Henry was famous in all countries

as a king holding wider rule than all his predecessors in England—even from the remotest limits of Scotland to the Pyrenees.

35. THE FRIENDSHIP OF HENRY AND BECKET.

William FitzStephen, 'Vita S. Thomæ'
[In 'Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,'
Rolls, III. 24]. Latin. *Contemporary*.

The chancellor therefore, because of the gifts of his virtues, his nobility of soul, and his distinguished merits, was in high favour with the king, the clergy, the knighthood, and the people. Business over, the king and he used to play together like two boys of the same age, in the palace, in church, in session, or while riding. One day they went for a ride together in the streets of London; the weather was disagreeable and windy; in the distance the king saw a poor old man coming towards them, with a thin, threadbare cloak. Says the king to the chancellor: 'Do you see him?' 'Yes,' replies the chancellor. 'How poor, feeble, and thinly clad, he is!' says the king. 'Wouldn't it be a real charity to give him a thick, warm cloak?' 'A great charity indeed,' replied the chancellor; 'and, my lord king, you ought to have a mind and eye to do it.' Meanwhile the poor man comes up to them; the king stops, and so does the chancellor. The king greets the poor man kindly, and asks if he would like a good cloak. The poor man, not knowing who they were, thought it a jest and not a serious question. Says the king to the chancellor: 'You are the one to show this great charity;' and, laying hold of his hood, he tried to pull

off a fine new scarlet cloak the chancellor was wearing, while the other tried to keep it. So there is a great ado and commotion: the wealthy nobles who were in attendance on them hurried up in amazement to find out the reason of their sudden strife. There was no one to tell them, for both of them had their hands fully occupied, and for some time seemed in danger of falling from their horses. At length the chancellor reluctantly allowed the king to prevail,



BECKET RECEIVING A LETTER FROM HENRY II, CONSTITUTING HIM CHANCELLOR.

draw his cloak from him, and present it to the poor man. It was only then that the king explained matters to his attendants. They all laughed heartily. Some offered the chancellor their cloaks and mantles. The poor old man, giving thanks to God, went off with the chancellor's cloak, enriched and glad beyond his hopes.

Sometimes the king invited himself as the chancellor's guest, either merely for his own entertainment or for the sake of seeing what was talked about at

the chancellor's table. The king used sometimes to send away his horse, and come in when the chancellor was at table—sometimes with the arrows in his hand, on his way back from hunting or on his way to the forest. Sometimes he would take a drink, and, after seeing the chancellor, go away again; at



CONSECRATION OF BECKET TO SEE OF CANTERBURY

another he would leap over the table, sit down, and eat. Never were any two men more absolute friends in Christian times.

36. BECKET AND THE PRIMACY.

1162. Herbert of Bosham, 'Vita S. Thomæ'
[In 'Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,'
Rolls, iii. 180]. Latin. *Contemporary*.

Now, at that time the king was out of the realm over sea, and the chancellor was with him; but on account of frequent Welsh risings and other affairs of state the king determined to send the chancellor to England. And because the difficulties were many

and serious, he entrusted the conduct of them to the chancellor, as he had no one else so fit for important affairs. Now, after some days had been spent in settling the details of the mission, the chancellor just before his departure went to court, which was then fixed at the Castle of Falaise in Normandy, intending just to say good-bye to the king, and then set out on his journey. But the king called him aside, and said



BECKET APPROACHING THE KING WITH DISAPPROBATION.

to him privately: 'You do not yet fully know the reason of your mission. It is my will,' he went on, 'that you should be Archbishop of Canterbury.' The chancellor, pointing with a smile to the gay fashion in which he was then attired, replied: 'What a religious, holy man you desire to place in so sacred a scat, and over such a famous and holy monastery! Know well that, if by God's will this should happen, you will right speedily turn away from me your favour and friendship, which now is so cordial between us, and will change it to the bitterest hate. For I know that you will make some exacting

claims—you even now strain a good many points in church matters—which I could not quietly allow. And so jealous persons will seize the opportunity to come between us, and they will destroy our friendship and raise up abiding hatred between us. . . .’

But the king, not moved at all by these warnings of the chancellor, the outcome of his affection, remained fixed in his purpose, and shortly afterwards, in the very presence of the chancellor, gave strict and minute instructions to the great men who accompanied him on his mission to England, with regard to his will and desire as to the chancellor’s preferment, which were to be made known to the holy monastery of the metropolitan see and to the clergy of his realm. And, addressing one of the envoys especially (it was Richard de Lucy), he said : ‘ Richard, if I were lying dead in my shroud, would you not strive to make Henry, my eldest son, king ?’ ‘ Yea, sire,’ he replied ; ‘ I should do my best.’ Then said the king : ‘ I wish you to try just as hard to secure the preferment of the chancellor to the see of Canterbury.’

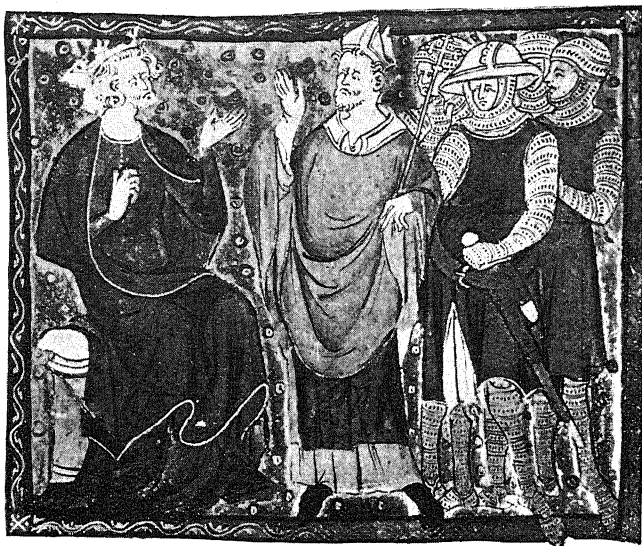
37. BECKET’S FIRST QUARREL WITH THE KING.

Edward Gium, ‘ Vita S. Thomæ ’

[In ‘ Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,’
Rolls, II. 373]. Latin. *Contemporary*.

When the king was staying on his estate at Woodstock, the archbishop and the magnates of the realm being present, among other things, a question arose about a certain custom which prevailed in England. From every hide a payment of two shillings was made to the king’s officers who were in charge of

the counties as the sheriff's deputies; these two shillings the king wished to reckon as belonging to his exchequer and to pay in to his own revenues. The archbishop resisted him to his face, saying that the two shillings ought not to be exacted for the



BECKET DISPUTING WITH THE KING.

(From MS. in British Museum—*Claudius D2* (Cotton).)

king's revenue; 'nor, my lord king, will we give them for revenue, saving your pleasure. But if the sheriffs worthily do their duty to us, and the officials or officers of the shires, and maintain our men, we shall never fail to come to their aid.' But the king, angry at the archbishop's answer, says: 'By the eyes of God, they shall be given for my revenue, and be

entered in the king's rolls; and it is not proper for you to contradict me, seeing that no one wants to oppress your people against your will.'

The archbishop, foreseeing, and forewarned against the introduction of any custom, owing to his lack of opposition, whereby posterity might be oppressed: 'By the reverence due to the eyes whereby you have sworn, my lord king, they shall not be given from my land and from the rights of the Church—no, not a single penny.' The king said not a word, amazed by the primate's outspoken objection, but his anger was not appeased; for soon, without much being said, his rage turns from temporal matters, which seemed to do the archbishop little harm, to a clerk, and his wrath is spent upon servants of the Church, that insults done to them might glance off upon the archbishop.

38. THE CASE OF PHILIP DE BROI.

1163.

Edward Gium, 'Vita S. Thomæ'

[In 'Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,'
Rolls, II. 374]. Latin. *Contemporary*.

A new method of attacking a clerk, named Philip of Broi, was resorted to by the resuscitation of a mode of procedure long obsolete. He had been charged with the murder of a certain knight, but when the case had been heard in the audience of the Bishop of Lincoln he was acquitted by the law of the Church, and, the matter ended, he was hailed as free by his kinsfolk. Later on, however, one of the king's officers to whom that duty was assigned, wishing, from an ancient grudge he bore him, that the clerk should be ruined, brought forward the case again,



PARTING OF ST. THOMAS AND THE TWO KINGS.

(From Thirteenth-Century MS.)

and renewed the charge of murder. But the clerk, being a man of good birth, overwhelmed with grief and indignation, assailed the sheriff with abuse. The sheriff reported this abusive language to the king, who, glad (as it was thought) to have an occasion of venting his wrath on a clerk, poured upon Philip the anger that he had conceived. When the clerk's case was raised in the presence of the archbishop, the king protested that full justice should be done both about the murder and about the insult, and that the acquittal would not stand. But the archbishop received the clerk into his court under shelter of the Church, that he might there defend himself and reply to the charge. Bishops and others of either order were accordingly sent by the king to judge the clerk. He denied the charge of murder, asserting that he ought not to be forced to make any further answer to it, and that it was illegal to try a case over again, a case which had been ended by a solemn acquittal, and which the peace he had made with his opponents had buried. 'I admit,' he said, 'that in the bitterness of my heart I insulted the king's officer, but I promise a full recompense for my misdeeds; yet let not the punishment exceed reasonable limits.' 'And we decree,' said they, 'that your prebend remain under the king's hand for two years, and that your possessions and all your revenues be distributed according to his wish to the poor.' They added that he was to stand naked before the king's official, just as if he were a layman, and offer him his arms for the wrong he had done him, and live in subjection to him.

The clerk obeyed the sentence, glad to have

escaped the sentence of death which the king threatened. The king, on the contrary, wishing to condemn the man to death, maintained that a wrong had been done to himself and to the prejudice of his court. He exclaimed that the bishops had shown favour to the person because of the archbishop, and had not judged according to right; and he added, 'By the eyes of God, you shall swear to me that you judged justly, and did not spare the man because he was a clerk.'

39. CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON.

1164

As given in Stubbs, 'Select Charters,' p. 138.

I. Concerning the advowson and presentation of livings, if a dispute shall arise between laymen, or between laymen and clerks, or between clerks, let the case be tried and settled in the king's court.

II. Churches in the fee of our lord the king may not be granted in perpetuity without his assent and approval .

III. Clerks charged and cited concerning any matter, having been summoned by the king's justiciar, shall come into his court to answer there to the charge if it shall seem fitting to the king's court that it be answered there, and in the Church court if it seem good that it be answered there, so that the king's justiciar shall send into the court of Holy Church to see in what manner the suit be therein conducted. And if the clerk shall be convicted or shall confess the Church should no longer protect him.

IV. Archbishops, bishops and beneficed clerks

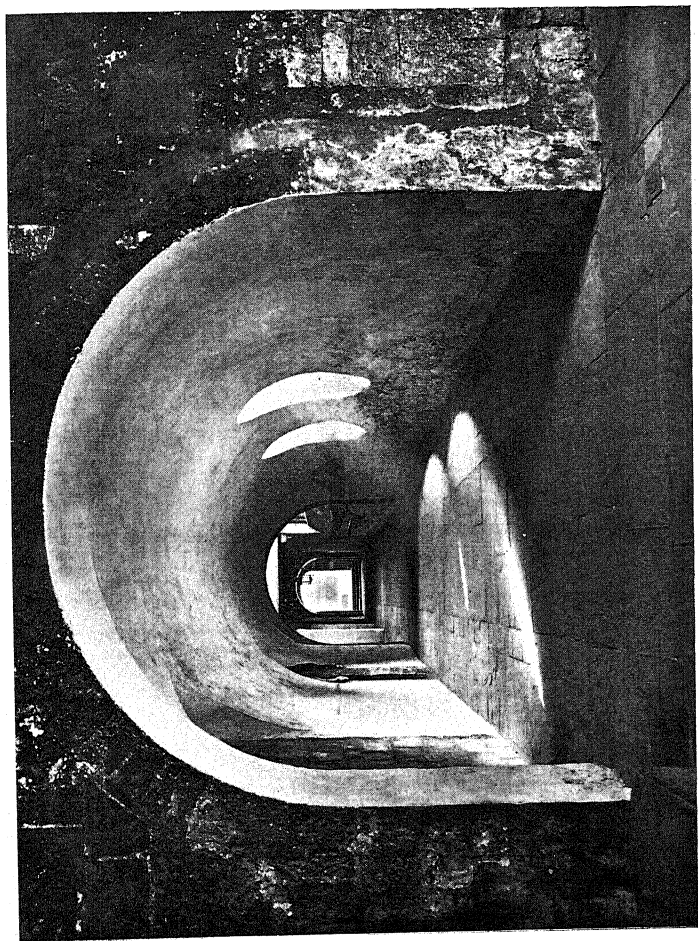
may not leave the kingdom without the permission of the lord king. If they quit the kingdom, if the lord king pleases, they shall give surety that neither in going nor in sojourning nor in returning will they cause ill or hurt to king or kingdom.

V. Excommunicate persons ought not to give surety for the future, nor to take oath, but only sufficient surety and pledge to abide the judgment of the Church that they may be acquitted.

VI. Laymen ought not to be charged save by certain and legal accusers and witnesses in the presence of the bishop, provided that the archdeacon lose not his right nor aught thereunto pertaining. And if the criminals be such that no one will or dare accuse them, the sheriff being requested by the bishop shall make to swear twelve legal men of the neighbourhood or township, before the bishop, that therein they will set forth the truth according to their conscience.

VII. No one who holds of the king in chief nor any of his servants shall be excommunicated, nor shall the estates of any of them be put under interdict unless the lord king, if he be in the country, or his justiciar, if he be abroad, be first notified that he may do justice on him: and so that what concerns the king's courts shall be there settled, and what belongs to the Church court shall be sent thereto that it may be tried there.

VIII. As to appeals that may arise, they ought to go from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop. And if the archbishop shall fail in doing justice, resort should be had finally to the king, so that by his order the case be



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concluded in the archbishop's court : so that it should go no farther without the king's approval.

IX. If an action arise between a clerk and a layman, or between a layman and a clerk, concerning any holding which the clerk wishes to attach to free alms, and the layman to lay fief, it shall be settled by the recognition of twelve legal men before the king's chief justiciar, whether the holding belong to ecclesiastical or lay tenure, in the presence of the above-mentioned justiciar. And if it be decided by recognition that it belongs to ecclesiastical tenure, the case shall be tried in the Church court ; but if to lay tenure (unless the suitors both hold of the same bishop or baron) it shall be tried in the king's court : so that on account of the recognition made he shall not lose seisin who was seised of it until it be settled by plea.

X. If any one residing in a city or castle or town or manor of the king, being summoned by the archdeacon or bishop for any crime for which he is bound to answer, will not, at their citations, give satisfaction, it shall be legal to put him under interdict, but not to excommunicate him until the chief officer of the king in his township be informed, in order that he may force him to give satisfaction. And if the king's officer shall be found wanting he shall be at the king's mercy, and then shall the bishop be able to coerce the accused by the law of the Church.

XI. Archbishops, bishops and all beneficed clergy of the kingdom who hold of the king in chief have their possessions of the lord king as a barony, and be responsible therefor to the justices and ministers

of the king, and follow and do all royal privileges and customs, and like other barons ought to be present at the judgment of the king's court, with the barons, till there shall come into judgment matter concerning mutilation or death.

XII. When an archbishopric shall be vacant, or a bishopric, or abbacy, or priory of the king's demesne, it shall be in his hand and he shall take all incomings and outgoings as his own. And when the Church is consulted the lord king shall command the greater person of the Church, and the election shall be in the chapel of the lord king by assent of the lord king and counsel of those Churchmen whom he shall have called for the purpose. And there shall the nominee do homage to the lord king as his liege lord, in his life and limbs and earthly honour, with due regard to order, before he be consecrated.

XIII. If any one of the lords of the realm shall have failed to show justice, either concerning himself or his men, to archbishop or bishop or archdeacon, the king our lord ought to bring him to justice. And if perchance a clerk shall have neglected his duty to the lord king, the archbishops and bishops and archdeacons ought to bring him to court so that he may make satisfaction to the king.

XIV. Pleas concerning debts which are due with or without pledges being given are in the king's justice.

XV. Sons of villeins ought not to be ordained without the approval of the lord on whose land they were born.

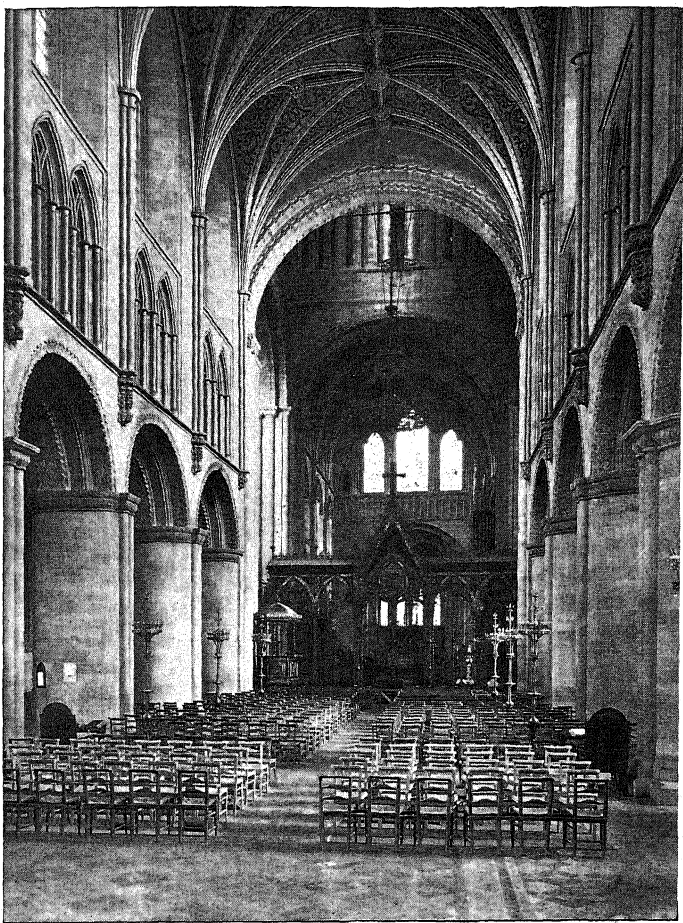
40. ASSIZE OF CLARENDON.

1166. As given in Stubbs, 'Select Charters,' p. 143.

1. In the first place the above-mentioned King Henry, by the counsel of all his barons, for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of justice, has decreed that an inquiry shall be made throughout the several counties, and throughout the several hundreds, through twelve of the more lawful men of the hundred, upon oath that they will speak the truth: whether in their hundred or in their township there be any man who since the accession of our lord the king has been charged or proclaimed as being a robber or murderer or thief; or any one who is a receiver of robbers or murderers or thieves. And the justices shall make this inquiry by themselves, and the sheriffs by themselves.

2. And he who shall be found through the oath of the above-mentioned persons to have been charged or proclaimed as being a robber or murderer or thief, or a receiver of them, since the accession of our lord the king shall be taken and shall go to the ordeal of water and shall swear that he was not a robber or murderer or thief or harbourer of them since the lord king has been king, to the extent of five shillings to the best of his knowledge.

4. And when a robber or murderer or thief, or receivers of them, shall be taken on the above-mentioned oath, if the justices shall not be about to come quickly enough into that county where they have been captured, the sheriffs shall send word to the nearest justice through some man of good sense



HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

[S. B. Bolas and Co.

The present cathedral was begun in 1079. The choir was decorated and the nave built during the first half of the twelfth century. The nave affords an excellent example of rich Norman work of the late Norman style.

that they have captured such men ; and the justices shall send back word to the sheriffs where they wish those men to be brought before them : and the sheriffs shall bring them before the justices. And with them they shall bring from the hundred or township where they were taken two lawful men to give testimony on the part of the county or hundred as to why they were taken ; and there before the justice they shall do their law.

5. And in the case of those who shall be captured on the above-mentioned oath of this assize, no one shall have court or jurisdiction or chattels save the king himself in his own court, before his own justices ; and the lord king shall have all their chattels. As concerns those who shall be taken otherwise than through this oath, let it be as it ordinarily is and ought to be.

7. And in the several counties where there are no prisons, such shall be made in the burgh or in some castle of the king from the money of the king and from his woods if they be near, or from some other adjacent woods, by view of the servants of the king ; for the purpose that the sheriffs may keep in them those who shall be taken by the ministers who are accustomed to do this, and through their servants.

14. The lord king wishes also that those who shall be tried and shall be acquitted by the law, if they be of very bad testimony and are publicly and disgracefully miscalled by the testimony of many and legal men, shall forswear the lands of the king, so that within eight days they shall cross the sea unless the wind detains them ; and with the first wind that

they shall have afterwards they shall cross the sea, and they shall not return any more to England unless by the indulgence of the lord king: and there let them be outlawed; and if they return let them be arrested as outlaws.

41. THOMAS TO THE KING.

About May, 1166

Letter from Becket to Henry II.

[In 'Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,' Rolls, v 278]. Latin *Contemporary*

The words of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King of the English.

With great longing I have desired to see your countenance and to speak with you; greatly for the sake of myself, but more for your own. For my sake, that when you saw my face you might recollect the services which, when I was under your obedience, I rendered zealously and faithfully according to my conscience, and that so you might be moved to pity me, who am forced to beg my bread among strangers; yet, praise God, I have no lack. And I have much consolation in the words of the apostle, 'All who live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution,' and the prophet, 'I have never seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread.' For your sake for three reasons: because you are my lord, because you are my king, and because you are my spiritual son. In that you are my lord I owe and proffer to you my advice and service, such as a bishop owes to his lord according to the honour of God and holy Church. And in that you are my king I am bound to you in respect and regard. In that you are my

son I am bound on account of my post to chasten and correct you. . . .

The Church of God consists of two orders, clergy and people. Among the clergy are apostles, apostolic men, bishops, and other doctors of the Church, to whom is committed the care and control of the Church, who have to manage the business of the Church, that the whole may redound to the saving of souls. Whence also it was said to Peter, and in Peter to the other rulers of the Church, not to kings nor to princes, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

Among the people are kings, princes, dukes, earls, and other powers, who perform secular business, that the whole may tend to the harmony and unity of the Church. And since it is certain that kings receive their power from the Church, not the Church from them but from Christ, so, with all due respect to you, you have not the power to give rules to bishops, nor to acquit or excommunicate any one, to draw clerks before secular courts, to judge concerning churches and tithes, to forbid bishops to adjudge causes concerning pledge-breaking or perjury, and many other things of this sort which are written among your customs which you call ancient. Let my lord, therefore, if it please him, listen to the advice of his subject, to the warnings of his bishop, and to the correction of his father. And first let him for the future abstain from all traffic with schismatics. It is known almost to the whole world with what devotion you formerly welcomed our lord the Pope and what love you showed to the Church of Rome,

and also what honour and regard were shown you in return. Abstain then, my lord, if you regard your soul's safety, from robbing the Church of her rights. Remember also the promise which you made, and which you placed in writing on the altar at Westminster, when you were consecrated and anointed king by my predecessor, of preserving the Church's liberty. Restore therefore to the Church of Canterbury, from which you received your advancement and consecration, the dignity which it held in the time of your predecessors and mine; together with all its possessions, townships, castles and farms, and whatsoever else has been taken forcibly either from myself or my servants, laymen as well as clerks. And further, if so please you, allow us a safe and peaceful return to our see, to perform the duties of our office as we ought. And we are ready faithfully and devotedly with all our strength to serve you as our dearest lord and king with due regard to the honour of God and of the Roman Church, and our order. Otherwise, be assured that you shall feel the Divine severity and vengeance.

42. THE MURDER OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

December 29,
1170.

Edward Grim, 'Vita S. Thomæ'
[In 'Materials for the History of Thomas
Becket,' Rolls, II. 430] Latin. *Contemporary.*

Therefore the above mentioned, no knights but miserable wretches, as soon as they landed called on the servants of the king, whom the archbishop had excommunicated, by falsely declaring that they were following the king's commands, and in his name they collected a band of followers. They then collected

in a body, ready for any deed of wickedness, and on the fifth day after Christ's Birth, that is on the day after the festival of the Holy Innocents, gathered together against the innocent. The hour of dinner having passed, the saint had departed with some of his servants from the crowd into an inner room, to transact some business, leaving a crowd waiting in the hall outside. The four knights with one attendant entered. They were honourably treated as the servants of the king and men of note; and those who had waited on the archbishop, being now themselves at dinner, invited them to table. They spurned the food, thirsting rather for blood. By their order the archbishop was informed of the presence of four men who wished to speak with him from the king. He consented and they entered. They sat for a long time without a word and did not salute the archbishop nor address him. Nor did the man of good understanding salute them immediately they came in, that in the words of Holy Writ, 'By thy words thou shalt be justified,' he might discover their intentions from their questions. After awhile, however, he turned to them, and carefully scanning the face of each one he greeted them with words of peace, but the wretches, who had made a bond with death, answered his greetings with revilings and in mockery prayed that God might help him. At this speech of bitterness and malice the man of God blushed red, now seeing that they had come to do him harm. Whereupon FitzUrse, who seemed to be the chief and the most eager for crime among them, breathing fury, burst out with these words, 'We have somewhat to say to thee by the king's command:

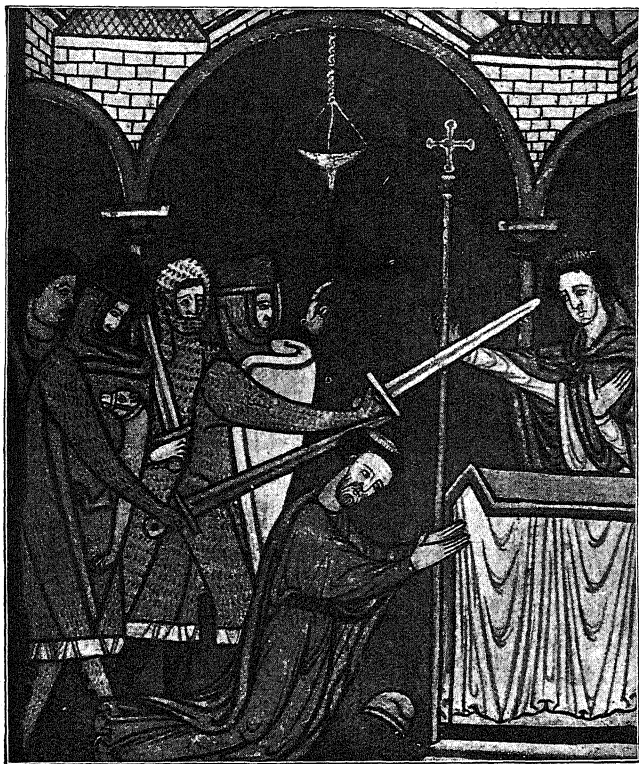
say if thou wilt that we tell it here before the crowd.' But the archbishop knew what they were going to say, and replied, 'These things should not be spoken in private or in the chamber, but in public.' Now these wretches were so inflamed with desire to slay the archbishop that if the door-keeper had not called back the clerks—for the archbishop had ordered them all to go out—they would have stabbed him, as they afterwards confessed, with the shaft of his cross which stood by. When those who had gone out returned, he, who had before thus abused the archbishop, said, 'The king, when peace was concluded between you and all quarrels were settled, sent you back free to your own see, as you demanded: but you, on the other hand, adding insult to your former injuries, have violated the terms and done wrong in yourself against your lord. For those by whose ministry the king's son was crowned and invested with the dignity of a king, you, with obstinate pride, have condemned by sentence of suspension, and you have also bound with the chain of a curse those servants of the king by whose wise advice the business of the kingdom is transacted: from which it is clear that you would take away the crown from the king's son if you were able. Now your plots and schemes you have laid to accomplish your plans against the king are known to all. Say, therefore, are you ready to answer in the king's presence for these things? for such is our errand.' To whom answered the archbishop, 'It was no desire of mine, God is my witness, to take away the crown from my lord the king's son, or impair his power; rather would I wish him three crowns, and would aid him

to win the mightiest of the earth with right and equity. But it is not meet for my lord the king to take offence because my people accompany me through the cities and towns, and come out to meet me, when they have for seven years been robbed of my consoling presence; and even now I am ready to satisfy him wherever my lord pleases, if in aught I have sinned; but he has forbidden me with threats to enter any of his cities and towns, or even villages.'

'Now,' said these butchers, 'this is the king's orders, that you quit with all your men the kingdom, and the land which lies under his sway: for henceforth can there be no peace with you, or any of yours, for you have violated the peace.' Then said he, 'I trust in the King of heaven, who for His own suffered on the cross: for from this day no one shall see the sea between me and my church. I came not to flee; here he who wants me shall find me. And it ill becomes the king so to command; sufficient are the taunts which I and mine have received from the king's servants.' 'Thus did the king command,' they replied, 'and we will make it good.' At these words Christ's champion, rising with burning spirit against his accusers, exclaimed, 'Whoso shall dare to outrage the decrees of the sacred Roman see or the laws of Christ's Church, and shall refuse to make satisfaction, whosoever he be I will show no mercy nor will I delay to inflict the correction of the Church on the sinners.'

Astounded at these words, the knights sprang up, for they could bear his firmness no longer, and coming close to him they said, 'We declare to you

that you have spoken at the risk of your life.' 'Do you come to kill me?' he answered. 'I have entrusted my cause to the Judge of all; wherefore I am not



MURDER OF THOMAS BECKET.

(From a Norman-French Psalter of the Thirteenth Century.)

moved by threats, nor are your swords more ready to strike than is my soul for martyrdom. Seek him who flees from you; me you will find foot to foot in

the battle of the Lord.' As they went out with loud din and revilings, he who was well called Ursus called out in brutal sort, 'In the king's name we order you, both clerk and monk, that ye take and hold that man, lest he escape by flight ere the king have full justice on his body.' As they departed so saying, the man of God followed them to the door and exclaimed, 'Here, here shall ye find me'; putting his hand over his neck as though pointing out the place where they were to strike.

He returned then to the place where he had sat before, and comforted his clerks, and urged them to be not afraid; and, as it seemed to us who were present, waited as calm and cool—though him alone did they seek to slay—as though they had come to invite him to a marriage. Ere long back came the butchers with swords and axes and falchions and other weapons meet for the crime which they had conceived. When they found the doors bolted and they were not opened to their knocking, they turned aside by a private way through the orchard to a wooden partition which they cut and hacked till they broke it down. At this dreadful din were the servants and clerks dreadfully affrighted, and, like sheep before the wolf, scattered hither and thither. Those who remained called out that he should flee to the church, but he did not forget his promise not to flee from his murderers through fear of death, and refused to go. But the monks eagerly urged him, declaring that it were not fit he were absent from vespers, which were at that moment being celebrated. But when he would not be persuaded by reasoning or prayer to take refuge in the church, the monks laid hands on him

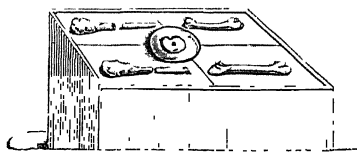
in spite of his resistance, and pulled, dragged, and pushed him, not heeding his shouts to be let go, and brought him to the church.

When the monks had entered the church, already the four knights followed behind with all haste. With them was a certain subdeacon, armed with malice like the knights, Hugh, well called for his wickedness Mauclerc, who showed no reverence for God or the saints, as the result proved. When the holy archbishop entered the church, the monks stopped vespers, which they had begun, and ran to him, praising God that they saw their father, who they had heard was dead, alive and safe. They hastened, by barring the doors of the church, to prevent their enemies from killing their shepherd.

But the champion, turning to them, ordered the church doors to be thrown open, saying, 'It is not meet to make a fortress of the house of prayer, the church of Christ: though it be not shut up it is able to protect its own; and we shall triumph over the enemy rather in suffering than in fighting, for we came to suffer, not to resist.' And forthwith they entered the house of peace and reconciliation with swords sacrilegiously drawn, causing horror to the beholders by their very aspect and the clanging of their arms.

Inspired by fury, the knights called out, 'Where is Thomas Becket, traitor to the king and realm?' As he gave no reply, they cried out the more peremptorily, 'Where is the archbishop?' At this, without a fear, he descended from the stair where he had been dragged by the monks in fear of the knights, and in a clear voice answered, 'Lo, here am I, no

traitor to the king, but a priest. Why do ye seek me?' Then they laid impious hands on him, pulling and dragging him that they might kill him outside the church, or carry him away in bonds, as they afterwards confessed. But when he could not be forced away from the column, one of them pressed on him and clung to him more closely. Him he repulsed, calling him 'pander,' and saying, 'Touch me not, Reginald; you owe me faith and allegiance; you and your accomplices act like madmen.' The knight, all aflame with fury at this severe repulse,



RELICS OF THOMAS BECKET.

waved his sword over the sacred head. 'No faith,' he cried, 'nor allegiance do I owe you against my fealty to my lord the king.'

Then the unconquered martyr, seeing the hour nigh which should put an end to this miserable life and give him straightway the crown of immortality promised by the Lord, bent his neck as in prayer, and joining his hands, he lifted them up, and commended his cause and that of the Church to God, to St. Mary, and to the blessed martyr Denys. Scarce had he said the words than the wicked knight, fearing lest he should be rescued by the people and escape alive, leapt upon him suddenly and wounded this lamb, who was consecrated to God, on the head, and by the same blow he wounded the arm of the teller of the tale. For he, when the others, both monks and clerks, fled, stuck close to the sainted archbishop, and held him in his arms till the one he interposed was almost cut

off. Then he received a second blow on the head, but still stood staunch. At the third blow he fell on his knees and elbows, offering himself a living victim, and saying in a whisper, 'For the Name of Jesus and the protection of the Church I am ready to embrace death.' Then the third knight dealt a terrible wound as he lay, by which the sword was shattered against the pavement. The fourth knight prevented all intervention so that the others might freely commit the murder. As to the fifth, no knight, but that clerk who had entered with the knights, that the martyr might not lack a fifth blow, he who was in other things like to Christ, he put his foot on the neck of the holy priest and precious martyr, and, horrible to say, strewed his brains and blood over the pavement, calling out to the others, 'Let us be off, knights; he will rise no more.'

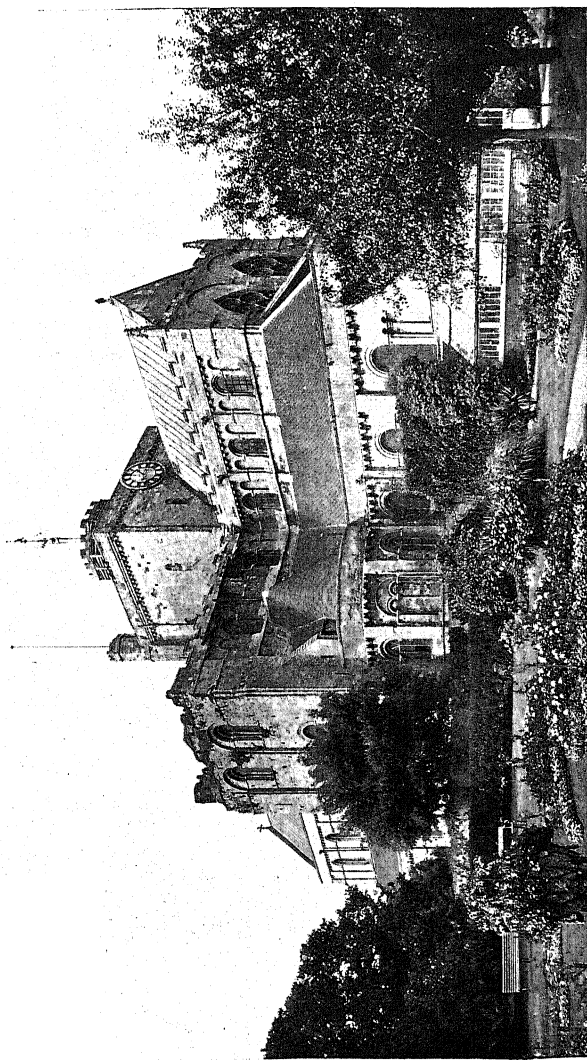
43. A LETTER DESCRIBING THE KING'S SUBMISSION.

May, 1172.

In 'Materials for the History of Thomas
Becket,' [Rolls] vii. 513.

First of all, the king and the legates met at Gorham on the Tuesday before the Rogation days [May 16], and there gave one another the kiss of peace. On the morrow they came to Savigne, where they were met by the Archbishop of Rouen and many bishops and magnates. And when a long time had been spent there in discussing terms, as the king absolutely refused to swear to their conditions, he left them in great indignation with these words: 'I am going back to Ireland, where I have

much pressing business. Do you go in peace throughout my realm, wherever you please, and carry out your duties as legates in accordance with your instructions.' And so the conference broke up. After this the cardinals held a secret council with the Bishop of Lisieux, the Archdeacon of Poitiers, and the Archdeacon of Salisbury, and by their means the king and cardinals again met at Avranches on the following Friday. His majesty then heard all their proposals, and assented with great courtesy to all their suggestions. But he wished his son to be present and join in the terms to be arranged; wherefore the meeting was again postponed to the following Sunday. On that day the king, laying his hand on the Gospels, swore that he had never commanded nor wished that the Archbishop of Canterbury should be slain, and that, when he heard of it, he rather grieved than rejoiced. He added also, voluntarily, that he grieved more than he did for the death of his father or mother, and swore that he would perform to the full whatever penance or satisfaction the cardinals should demand of him. For he admitted before all that he had been the cause of the archbishop's death, which had taken place entirely through him; not that such were his orders, but that his friends and attendants, seeing the distress in his countenance and the flashing of his eye, judged how his mind was disturbed within him, and when they heard his querulous words about the archbishop, they prepared for vengeance; for which cause he would now do all that the legates required of him. Upon this the legates signified to him that he was to provide two hundred knights at his own



ROMSEY ABBEY CHURCH.

[Photocrom Co., Ltd.

This is a cruciform church with a central tower, and the greater part of the massive edifice is built in the pure Norman style. Some of the apses are semicircular and some of the arches are of the silted horseshoe variety.

charges, and maintain them for a year to fight against the infidels in the Holy Land, at the disposal of the Templars.

Secondly, to annul the unlawful statutes of Clarendon, and all other bad customs which had been introduced into the Church during his reign; and to allow all such bad customs as had been introduced before his own reign to be modified by the authority of the Pope and a council of religious men.

Thirdly, to make full recompense to the Church of Canterbury both of its goods and estates, in the same condition as they were the year before the archbishop incurred the king's anger; and to replace all others who had been in disgrace for supporting the archbishop, and take them again into his affection.

Fourthly, if necessary, and the Pope should require it, to go into Spain and free that country from the infidels.

Besides all this they enjoined him privately to practise fasting and almsgiving, and other penance which never came to the ears of the public.

The king graciously assented to all, saying: 'My lords legates, I am wholly in your hands, and I shall do whatever you enjoin; I will go to Rome, to Jerusalem, or to St. James, if you wish it.' All those present were much touched at the humility and reverence of his manner.

When this was settled, the legates led the king, at his own wish, out of the church, and there kneeling, but without stripes, he received absolution, and was received anew into the Church.

44. THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

Giraldus Cambrensis, 'Expugnatio
Hibernica,' [Rolls] v. 382.
Latin. *Contemporary*.

Happy would this island have been, and long since would it have been thoroughly and successfully subdued from end to end, reduced without difficulty to system and order by the building of castles in suitable places everywhere from sea to sea, had it not been that the first invaders had their supplies cut off by royal edict ; or, rather, had not domestic treason so soon recalled the king from his spirited and bold expedition.

Happy, too, if proper appreciation had been given to the merits of men who were upright and strong from the very first, and the charge and government of the country had been entrusted to them.

For the natives at our first coming had been astounded and panic-stricken by the novelty of the event, and were absolutely terrified at the sudden wounds caused by the arrows and the strength of our soldiery ; but by delay—which ever brings danger with it—by the protracted, dilatory, feeble character of the conquest, by the muddling and cowardice of lieutenants and governors, who lulled us into a feeling of security, but who had no energy, the natives had time to get used and accustomed by degrees to the use of the bow and arms ; moreover they learnt caution, they practised ambuscades, they gained confidence from frequently engaging our troops, they benefited from our victories ; and so, whereas at first we could rout them with ease, they came in time to make a bold stand against us. . . .

Now, the Irish have four prophets, Moling, Berchan, Patrick, and Columba, whose writings are in Irish and still extant among them. In speaking of this conquest, they all declare that it will entail many battles, a long struggle and much bloodshed—in fact, that it will go on for long generations. Indeed, they hardly allow that full victory will fall to the English before the Day of Judgment, with Ireland thoroughly subdued and planted with castles from sea to sea. . . .

We speak what we know ; we merely state what we have seen. Because we insolently spurned their first advances, we repelled by that example not only those we met then, but all the chiefs—for God breaketh down all pride. . . .

Moreover, the lands of the friendly Irish, who from the first arrival of Fitz-Stephen and the earl had stood loyally by us, we took away, contrary to our promises, and gave to new-comers from England. These natives immediately went over to the enemy, and, changing sides, became scouts and guides against us ; and their former friendship with us only enabled them to do us all the more harm.

The custody, too, of the castles and maritime towns, with their adjacent lands and the tribute therefrom, which should have been spent for the public good of the country and to the detriment of our foes, was assigned to men who skulked behind walls in their greed for lucre, given over to drunkenness and cowardice, and wasted everything aimlessly, to the great hurt of their fellow-soldiers, but not of the enemy.

This, too, was added to the other misfortunes : as

soon as the king's son appeared in the land, a land hostile and warlike, a stiff rebellious land, a land not yet prepared to do obedience, the government and the direction of military affairs were taken over by men with more of Mercury than Mars about them, more used to the boudoir than the field, more given to exploitations against their fellow-countrymen than to expeditions against the enemy. Men I saw and marchers like Fitz-Aldelm, under whom both Wales and Ireland—for he was governor in each—had to bewail their destruction and decay. . . . The result is that nothing has been done to establish a settled state of things in the island, either by incursions into hostile districts, or by building castles, or by opening up forest roads, for the security of wayfarers by felling and removing trees.

Of course the bands of mercenaries, imitating their masters, following the example of their betters, gave themselves up to wine and loose living, not budging from the towns on the coast. Thus the inland districts, which lay nearer the enemy . . . were entirely deserted; and the undefended villages and castles lying between these districts and the coast were given over to rapine, slaughter, and fire. As the insolence of the new-comers grew, the veteran soldiers of the early days were scorned and slighted; they kept in the background and said nothing, but quietly waited for the final outcome of such disorder. . . .

Now, all these excesses, although due in a measure to both causes, are to be imputed rather to John's evil counsels than to his youth. For this which had always been a rude and savage land required trained

and experienced minds to mould it into shape. Any realm, though it may long have enjoyed prosperity, is to be considered cursed with a child for ruler; how much the more so when a rough, untaught realm is handed over to a rough, unteachable boy.

45. REVOLT OF HENRY THE YOUNGER.

1173

William of Newburgh,

'Historia Rerum Anglicarum'

[*'Chronicles of Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.,'* Rolls, i. 169]. Latin. *Circa* 1196.

In the year 1173 . . . arose a lamentable and disgraceful quarrel between the king and his son, Henry III., whom two years previously he had caused to be solemnly hallowed as king. For the latter, now arrived at man's estate, wished in addition to the hallowing and title to enjoy the substance of them and to be at least a co-ruler with his father; indeed, it was even whispered to him by some that he ought by rights to be sole king, as though on his own coronation his father's reign had come to an end, and so he especially resented the fact that his father was somewhat niggardly with regard to the expenses he incurred in maintaining royal state; hence he rose and rebelled against his father, and to cause him trouble fled to his father-in-law, the French king. By him he was of course warmly welcomed, not so much because he was his son-in-law as because he had revolted from his father, and gave himself up entirely to his advice. So, spurred on and incited against his father by the most malicious encouragement of the French, he was not frightened by the wicked Absalom's example from



CROWNING OF THE YOUNG KING.

HIS FATHER SERVING HIM AT TABLE.

violating all natural ties. But when the father heard that his son had turned from him, and knew where he had fled to, he sent distinguished envoys with a courteous message to the King of France to demand his son as a father's right; and he promised that, if anything seemed to call for amendment in regard to him, he would amend it immediately with the advice of the French king himself. To this message the latter replied: 'Who is making this request of me?' 'The King of England,' they answered. 'That is false,' he said: 'see, the King of England is here; he makes no request of me through you. But if you are still calling king his father, who was formerly King of England, you must understand that that king is dead. Moreover, a speedy remedy will be found for the fact that he still acts as king, although the whole world is witness that he has resigned his kingdom to his son.' With this empty answer they returned to their master.

Soon afterwards, by French advice, young Henry, trying to create trouble for his father in every possible quarter, secretly visited Aquitaine, and, it is said with his mother's connivance, incited to revolt his two young brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, who were staying there with their mother, and took them with him to France. His father had bestowed Aquitaine upon one of them, and Brittany upon the other, both to be entered upon in his own good time; and therefore young Henry made up his mind, when the French told him, that Aquitaine and Brittany would be more easily won over by their means. He was joined, too, by the Count of Flanders, his father's cousin, who was very powerful and full of boastful

confidence in the populous and warlike race over which he ruled; he was won over by splendid promises and the efforts of the French king. At that time many powerful nobles, in England as well as overseas, either urged on by mere hatred, which they had concealed till then, or won over by extravagant promises, began by degrees to go over from the father to the son, and to prepare for war in every way; among them were the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Chester, Hugh Bigod, Ralph of Fougères, and very many others who were formidable from their vast wealth and strong fortresses. Many too, with not enough confidence in their own resources to do anything, proclaimed their hostility by withdrawing to France. To these was added a more relentless foe in the King of Scots, who let loose on England his savage subjects, sparing neither age nor sex. Since, therefore, so many powerful nobles had revolted from the older king, and all were set against him as it seemed with one mind, there were but few left to support him loyally and firmly; for most of his followers wavered in the balance, fearing utter ruin if the young king should prove victorious. Then at length—at any rate, so it was commonly said—the elder king perceived how rashly—nay, how foolishly—he had acted by so prematurely creating a successor to himself, without considering that the dissatisfied would be only too glad to follow a younger king.

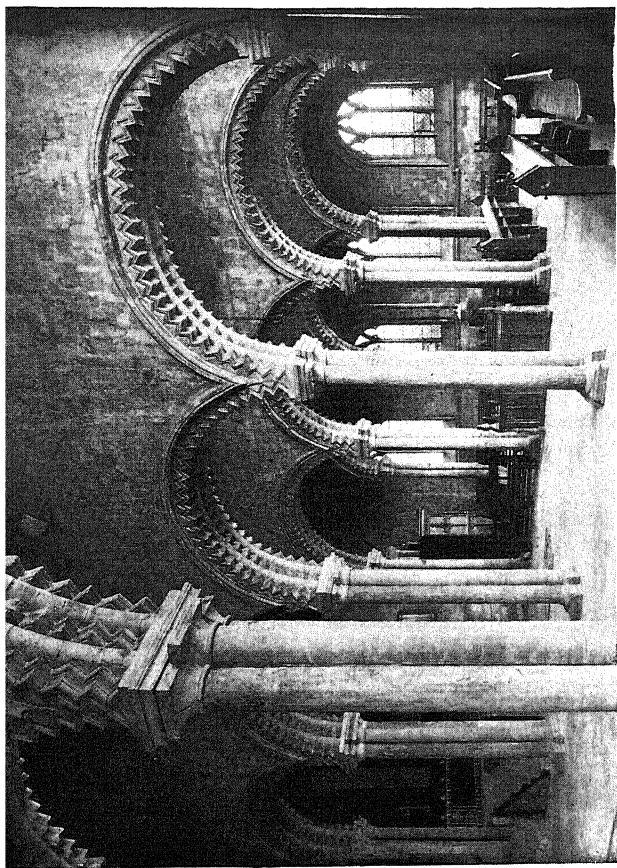
46. HENRY'S PENANCE AND THE SEQUEL.

1174.

William of Newburgh,

' *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* '['Chronicles of Reigns of Stephen, Henry II.,
and Richard I,' Rolls, 1 187]. Latin *Circa* 1196.

King Henry II. had now come to England from Normandy, to oppose the will of his presence to his son, who intended to come over with a Flemish army. Remembering how greatly he had offended against the Church of Canterbury, immediately he landed he went thither, and prayed with many tears at the tomb of the blessed Archbishop Thomas. And coming into the monks' chapter-house, he threw himself upon the ground and most humbly asked pardon; and at his own urgent request this great prince was beaten with rods by all the brethren in order. Now, on the following night a venerable aged monk of this church was thus spoken to in his slumber: 'Didst thou not see to-day the great miracle of royal humility? Know well that the issue of things concerning him will soon show how greatly pleasing to the King of kings hath been this royal humility.' Now, I learned this fact from Roger, the highly revered and reliable Abbot of Byland; and he said that he had it from a reliable source, while staying in Kent at that very time. Indeed, He who 'toucheth the mountains, and they smoke,' soon revealed by a sure sign how greatly He valued that devotion of 'the smoking mountain.' Actually on the very day, and it is said at the very hour, when that mountain 'smoked' at Canterbury, the Divine goodness destroyed in the remotest parts of England his cruellest foe, the King of Scots; in order that the reward of a



[S. B. Bolas & Co.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

The present cathedral was founded about 1093, and between this date and 1140 the choir, transepts, nave, and chapter-house were completed. The Galilee (shown in our illustration) dates from about 1175, and is one of the richest specimens of transitional Norman work. Norman in execution, the graceful and elegant design seems to be Gothic in inspiration, although Saracenic influence might well have been at work here; for originally the arches were carried by slender coupled shafts, each pair under one abacus, a style much used by the Saracens. Other shafts were added later to give more strength to the columns.

pious deed might seem not to follow, but to accompany, that deed, and that none should be suffered to be in doubt thereon.

47. THE CAPTURE OF WILLIAM THE LION.

1174.

Jordan Fantosme, lines 1772-1830

[Rolls]. *Contemporary*.

Translated by J. Stevenson in 'The Church
Historians of England,' IV. i. 282.

The King of Scotland was brave, wonderful and bold,
Before Alnwick he stood unarmed.

I do not relate a fable as one who has heard say,
But as one who was there, and I myself saw it.

When these had once cried the war-signal of Vesci

And 'Glanvile, knights!' and 'Baliol!' likewise,

Odinel de Humfreville raised a cry of his own,

And another that of Estuteville, a bold knight.

Then knew King William that he was nearly betrayed;

Quickly he stirred himself, he was not disconcerted.

The king arms himself soon and hastily,

And mounted on a horse which was not slow,

And goes to the fight with very great boldness

The first whom he struck, he knocks to the ground.

The fight was very great of the king and his troops.

Everything would have gone on well, to my knowledge,

Were it not for a sercant who rushes up to him;

With the lance which he held he pierces his horse.

You must not ask if the king was sorrowful:

The sin of the Scots is an encumbrance to him.

The king and his horse are both on the ground,

He could not get up, the horse lay upon him:

Now he has enough of labour and trouble and vexations,

When servants and esquires pass by him ;
He will hear news to my knowledge, to day ;
He cannot much help himself nor others.

Great was the battle and stubborn on both sides ;
You might see darts enough thrown and arrows shot,
The bold fighting and the cowardly flying.
Of the unfortunate Flemings great carnage was
made . . .

Never again in their country will they cry, ' Arras !'

The king lay on the ground thrown down, as I
tell you ;

Between his legs lay the horse upon him ;
Never again will he rise from it for relation or friend,
If the horse is not drawn from him with which he is
encumbered ;

He will always be humbled and disgraced.

He was soon taken, with my two eyes I saw it,
By Ralph de Glanville, to whom he then surrendered ;
And all his boldest knights are taken.

There was no favour ; all were enemies.

Our knights on this side, never did I see better,
Love not the Flemings, who had then betrayed them ;
But they keep killing them. I know not what more
to say to you.

The king surrenders himself prisoner to Ralph,
truly ;

He could not do otherwise, what else could he do ?

And Ralph was glad, when he sees and hears

That the war of the king is really finished.

England is at peace, and the good people

Will no longer dread the Scots : they will not injure
them at all.

Ralph de Glanville has the king in custody . . .

He takes off his armour and forgets nothing.
 On a palfrey mounted this King of Albany;
 So they led him gently, whatever may be said to you.
 At Newcastle-on-Tyne they take lodgings,
 And the others remained for their knight-service,
 And take those knights towards Albany.
 Now the battle on both sides was well fought.

48. THE TREATY OF FALAISE.

1174.

Rymer, 'Fœdera,' I. i 30
 Latin.

William, King of Scots, became liege man of our lord the king, against every man of Scotland, and for all his other lands, and did fealty to him as to his liege lord, just as his other men are wont to do to him. And in the same way he did homage to his son, young King Henry, saving loyalty to his father our lord the king.

All bishops, abbots and clergy of the land of the King of Scotland, and his successors, as many as he shall wish to have it from, shall do fealty to our lord the king as to their liege lord, just as his other bishops are wont to do it to him, and to King Henry his son and his heirs.

And the King of Scotland and David his brother and his other men have agreed that the Church of Scotland shall for the future be in such subjection to the Church of England as it ought to be, and was wont to be in the time of the Kings of England, his predecessors. Similarly, Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews; Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld; Walter, Abbot of Dunfermline; and Herbert, Prior of Coldingham, have agreed that the Church of England

should have that right in the Church of Scotland which it ought of right to have, and that they will not stand against the right of the Church of England. . . .

Moreover, the King of Scotland and his men shall for the future receive in Scotland or in any other of his lands no fugitive for felony from the land of our lord the king—unless he shall be willing to stand his trial in the king's court and abide by the judgment there given—but the King of Scotland and his men shall arrest him as soon as they can, and restore him to our lord the king or his justices or bailiffs in England.

[Conversely a converse clause for fugitives from Scottish justice.]

For the strict observance of this treaty and agreement the King of Scotland gave up to our lord the king . . . the castle of Roxburgh, the castle of Berwick, the castle of Jedburgh, Maiden Castle, and the castle of Stirling; and the King of Scotland will assign a sum agreeable to our lord the king from his revenues for the keeping of these castles.

Moreover, for the completion of this treaty and agreement, the King of Scotland gave up to our lord the king his brother David as a hostage.

[Here follows a list of twenty Scottish nobles.]

But when these castles shall have been given up, William, King of Scotland, and his brother David, shall be set at liberty. The earls and barons before mentioned shall be set at liberty after each one of them has given a hostage—namely, his son or his grandson or near relative, and the castles have been surrendered. . . .

Moreover, the bishops, earls and barons have arranged with our lord the king and his son Henry, that if the King of Scotland for any reason recede from his allegiance to our lord the king and his son, and from this treaty, they themselves will hold with our lord the king, as with their liege lord, against the King of Scotland, till such time as he return to the allegiance of our lord the king.

49. HENRY'S JUDICIAL REFORMS.

1179

Ralph of Diceto, 'Imagines Historiarum,'

[Rolls] i 434

Latin. *Contemporary.*

The king and father of the English, greatly desirous of helping the poor and lowly, discovered that the sheriffs, who were immersed in public duties and accounts, were looking after their own interests. So, becoming more and more anxious for the common safety, he entrusted jurisdictions in certain districts to others of his lieges in the realm, that the approach of public power being known throughout the shires might strike terror into the delinquents. . . . Carefully searching out in many shires the lovers of justice, he sought the many among thousands who would not be corrupted by gifts. . . . He sometimes appointed abbots, sometimes earls, sometimes captains, sometimes his own servants, sometimes his dearest friends, to hear and try cases. . . . Passing over all those who might easily yield to weakness, the king had recourse to the sanctuary of God, and appointed as chief justiciars of his realm, but in fixed districts, the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich, possibly influenced by this consideration,

that, if the others whom he had long before appointed were lacking at all in dutiful respect to him, their earthly ruler, they would reverence more carefully and anxiously God, the King of kings, the Creator of the world, the Judge of consciences, the Avenger of deeds, so that, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, they might neither oppress the poor in judgment, nor dare to look at a rich man's case in a brighter light, because they had taken a bribe. . . .

Justice then mediating on the decision of quarrels, at the hands of these bishops and their fellow-judges, while some cases were reserved for the king's hearing, a report on their administration is submitted to the king at Westminster on August 27.

50. HENRY'S INFLUENCE WITH PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

1180.

Benedict of Peterborough,
'Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi,' [Rolls] i. 246.
Latin *Contemporary*.

Meanwhile Henry, King of England, to whose kindness the Queen of France, Count Theobald, and many of the French nobles, had had recourse as exiles, had an interview at Gisors with the new King of France; and he there by persuasion and urgency so worked upon the mind of the latter that, contrary to the advice of the Count of Flanders and of Robert Clement, and of many others who wished for discord between him and his mother and uncles, he put away all the ill-feeling and indignation which he had conceived against them in his heart, and received them into proper friendship; agreeing to pay his mother, the Queen of France, seven pounds Parisian for her daily upkeep every day during the lifetime of

his father, King Louis, and on his death to restore her the whole of her dowry . . . only retaining the castles and fortresses included therein.

At the same interview, for further security, the King of England received allegiance and homage from Philip, Count of Flanders, in the presence of Philip the new King of France; and he renewed the agreements which had been made between them, to the effect that he would give the count every year a thousand marks sterling payable at the exchequer, while the count undertook that in return for these thousand marks he would keep at his charges five hundred soldiers for the service of the King of England for forty days a year, when called upon; and if the king, after the expiration of those forty days, wished to keep the soldiers longer, he might keep them at pay for as long as he would. Moreover, at the same interview the Count of Clermont did homage to the King of England in the presence of his lord the King of France. Also peace was made and confirmed by oath on both sides between the King of England and the new King of France in these terms.

[Here follows a form of peace renewing the Treaty of Ivry concluded in 1177.]

51. PHILIP ASKS HENRY'S ADVICE.

1181.

Benedict of Peterborough,
'Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi,' [Rolls] 1. 277
Latin. *Contemporary.*

While these events were taking place in Normandy at the court of the King of England, Philip, Count of

Flanders, got together a great army, with the intention of invading the land of his overlord, the King of France, and in spite of his prohibition to besiege a certain castle belonging to the Count of Clermont. On learning this the King of France informed the King of England—who had now come down to the coast to embark—of the count's intention, requesting him, as he loved him and the honour of the realm of France, to come to him in France with all speed. Thereupon Henry gave orders for his family to sail to England, while he kept a few ships for his own needs. He went to meet the King of France with all speed, and had an interview at Gisors with the Count of Flanders, at which the King of France was present; and after hearing the arguments on both sides he at length reconciled them. Afterwards he proceeded to Cherbourg, and there found his fleet, which was in waiting for him. He embarked a few days later, and landed at Portsmouth on July 26—as also did William, King of Scotland.

52. THE ASSIZE OF ARMS.

1181.

Benedict of Peterborough,
'Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi,' [Rolls] 1. 278
Latin. *Contemporary*

1. Every holder of a single knight's fee shall have breastplate and helmet, shield and lance; and every knight shall have as many breastplates, helmets, shields, and lances, as he has knight's fees in his demesne.

2. Every free layman having chattels or income to the value of sixteen marks shall have breastplate, helmet, shield, and lance; and every free layman

having chattels or income to the value of ten marks shall have hauberk, iron helm, and lance.

3. All burgesses and the whole commonalty of free men shall have a gambeson [mail doublet], iron helm and lance.

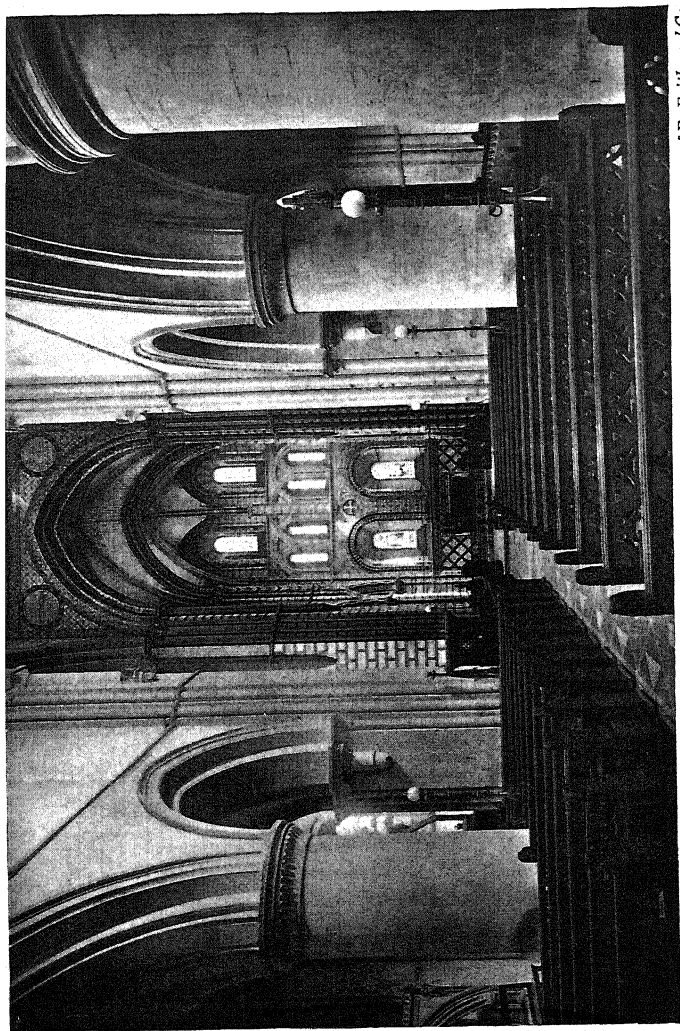
4. They shall all swear to have these arms before the feast of St Hilary, and will be loyal to our lord King Henry, son of the Empress Matilda, and will keep these arms for his service, in accordance with his commands, and in fealty to the king and his realm. And no one after having these arms shall sell them, or pledge them, or lend them, or alienate them in any other way; nor shall a lord alienate them in any way from his vassal either by forfeit, gift, pledge, or any other way.

5. If any die in possession of these arms his arms shall remain to his heir. If his heir is not of such an age as to be able to use arms, if need be, his guardian shall likewise have wardship of his arms, and find a man who can use the arms in our lord the king's service, till the heir be of such an age that he can bear arms; and then he shall have them.

6. Any burgess who has more arms than he need have by this assize shall sell or give or alienate them to any such as may keep them in the service of our lord the King of England; and none of them shall keep more arms than he ought to have by this assize.

7. No Jew shall keep in his possession breastplate or hauberk, but shall sell, give or part with them in some other way, so that they remain in the king's service.

8. No man shall carry arms out of England, except



ST. CROSS, WINCHESTER.

[*F. Frith and Co.*]

This church was begun about 1171, and completed towards the end of the thirteenth century. It is a famous specimen of late and transitional Norman work; it has round, intersecting, and pointed arches, with characteristic Norman mouldings. The church was built in connection with the Hospital of St. Cross, which was founded in 1136 by Bishop Henri de Blois to provide a home for thirteen poor and aged men, and supply a daily meal to one hundred others.

by the authority of our lord the king; nor shall any sell arms to any other, to take them out of England.

9. The justices shall have sworn testimony of legal knights or other free and legal men from hundreds and boroughs, as many as they think fit, who shall have that value of goods according to which a man ought to have breastplate, helmet, lance and shield as aforesaid; to the end that they shall name to them individually all men of their hundreds, neighbourhoods and boroughs possessing sixteen marks or ten marks in chattels and income. And the justices shall afterwards have all these jurors and others enrolled—all, that is, who have the value mentioned and the arms consequent thereupon; and afterwards in their presence and in their common hearing the justices shall have read this assize of having arms, and shall make them swear to have these arms in accordance with the aforementioned value of goods and income, and that they will hold them in the service of our lord the king according to the aforementioned assize at the command and in the loyal service of our lord King Henry and his realm.

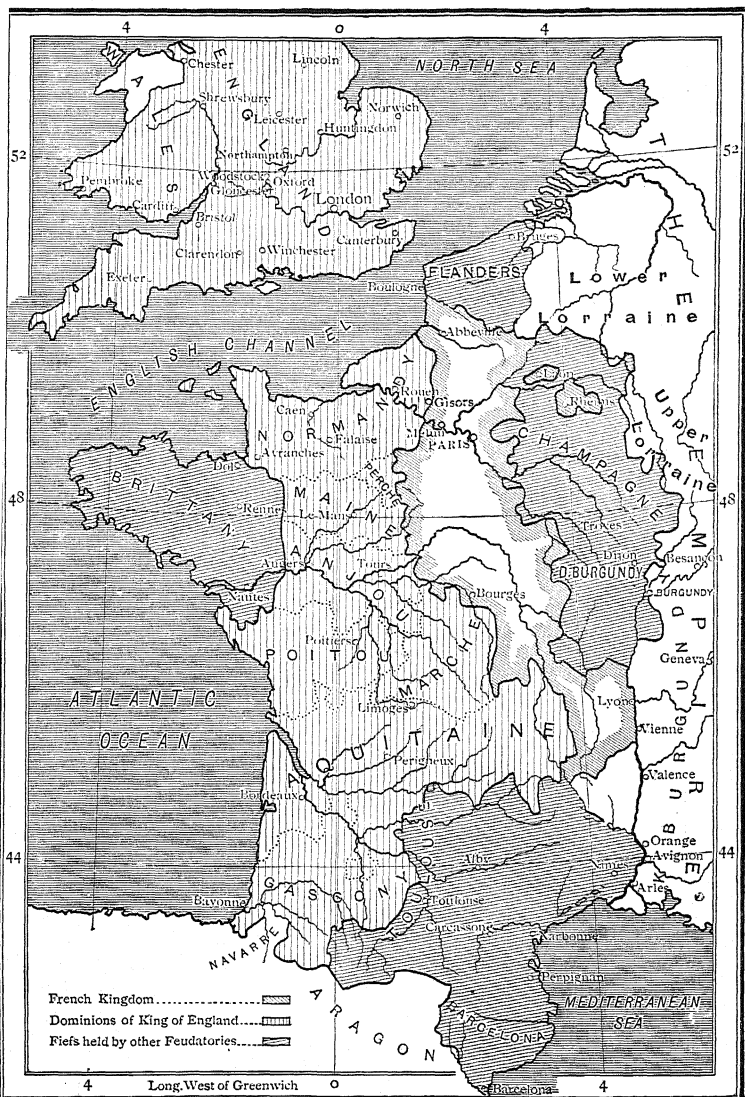
53. HENRY II. AND HIS SONS.

1183

Ralph of Diceto.

'Imagines Historiarum,' [Rolls] II 18
Latin. *Contemporary*.

As in the case of each of his sons the actual conditions corresponded in almost every respect with the king's desires, he did his best to provide for his children, leaving nothing undone conducive to harmony. So in his anxiety to knit the bonds of



MAP OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE AT THE ACCESSION OF HENRY II.

peace more closely between his sons, and in his desire to avoid the fraternal dissensions, which had become an almost natural growth after so many generations, he asked the young king to take homage and fealty for the duchy of Brittany, which his brother Geoffrey held by right of dower in conjunction with Constance, Count Conan's only daughter and heiress. For, by consent of the Kings of France, the Counts of Brittany have from ancient times been attached to the Dukes of Normandy by this evident bond of vassalage. What the father requested was performed at Angers. Afterwards the father did everything he possibly could to secure that young Henry should give up his duchy of Aquitaine to his brother Richard, to be held definitely and permanently by him and his heirs. But then at length the young king plainly let his father see that he was fairly leagued with the barons of Aquitaine against his brother Richard. And he was led to this policy on that occasion because Richard had strongly fortified, in opposition to his wishes and interests, the castle of Clerevals, which from the remotest times had belonged to the Counts of Anjou. But in order not to enrage his father, he promised to accede to his request at Mirabel, on condition that Richard should do homage and fealty to him and take an oath of allegiance on sacred relics. But Richard burst out into violent anger at this suggestion, saying, as is alleged, that it was not proper to recognize his elder brother as his superior, seeing that they were the sons of the same father and mother; but, he asserted, just as his father's possessions fell by the law of primogeniture to his brother

as king, so he himself equally claimed lawful possession of his mother's inheritance. On hearing this claim, the king their father broke out into a blaze of anger and took stern measures against Richard, while he vehemently urged young Henry to put out all his strength to check Richard's arrogance. He also advised Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, to stand loyally by his brother and liege lord, the young king. So the latter marched not against his father, as he constantly maintained, but to bring help to the Poitevins, whom Richard was oppressing with unfair burdens and harsh government, but who declared that they were Henry's subjects and would not obey any of his brothers during his lifetime. So after several conferences had been held without arriving at any hope of peace, the young king got together a numerous army and turned away from the face of his father, to whom he knew rightly belonged the care of Aquitaine so long as he lived. He had arranged to meet his brother Richard in a few days' time . . . when his life was cut short . . . and so cut short the hopes of many serving under him, who were looking forward to reigning along with him after his father's death.

54. ASSIZE OF THE FOREST.

1184.

Benedict of Peterborough,
'Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi,' [Rolls] II clvi.
Latin. *Contemporary*.

1. [The king will no longer have mercy on transgressors of the forest law.]
2. The king forbids anyone from having bows,

arrows, dogs or greyhounds in his forests, unless he have the king's warrant or that of some other who can warrant him.

3 Also he forbids any who are within the forest land of King Henry, from giving or selling anything to the destruction or waste of his wood: he allows, however, that they take of their woods what is necessary for them without waste, and this by view of the king's forester.

4. [Owners of woods within the royal forests to have their own foresters under pledge.]

5. [The royal foresters to overlook the foresters of the knights.]

6. [All foresters to swear to keep this assize.]

7. [Twelve knights to be appointed in every county to guard vert and venison for the king; four to control the turning of cattle into the royal woods at particular times of the year. No one to turn in cattle before the king.]

8. [Negligent foresters to be punished.]

9. The king forbids any clerk from trespassing on his hunting or his forests; he orders his foresters that, if they find them trespassing, they shall not scruple to lay hands on them and attack them; he will give them good warranty.

11. [All persons bound to attend the shire courts are to attend the pleas of the forest as well.]

12. At Woodstock the king ordained that whoever trespassed on his forest once, substantial bail should be taken of him; if he trespass a second time the same; if he trespass a third time, for the third trespass no other bail shall be taken of him, nor anything but the body of the trespasser.

13. Also he ordained that all persons twelve years old, living within the peace of the hunting, should swear to keep the peace of the forest; and so with clerics holding lay fees.

15. He orders that no tanner or maker of white leather shall live in his forests outside a town.

16. [Hunting by night forbidden.]

55. INVASION OF PALESTINE BY THE TURKS.

1187. Letter in Benedict of Peterborough,
[Rolls] ii. 13. Latin. *Contemporary*.

Brother Terricus, called great preceptor of the poor house of the Temple, and every other poor brother and the community which has been almost completely destroyed, to all the preceptors and brothers of the Temple to whom these letters shall come, greeting.

Neither in letters nor in tearful speech can we unfold by how many or by what great calamities the wrath of God has allowed us to be scourged at the present time for our sins. For the Turks, gathering together the unnumbered multitude of their tribes, have begun hotly to attack the lands of our fellow-Christians. We got together the forces of our people, and ventured within the octave of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul to march with them against the Turks towards Tiberias, which they had stormed, leaving only the castle standing. And when they had enclosed us in difficult rocky ground, they attacked us so hotly that the sacred cross and our king were captured and all our host killed; of our brothers, as we verily believe, on that same day two hundred and thirty were slain, and it was only

with difficulty that the Count of Tripoli and Lord Reginald of Sidon and Lord Balian [of Ibelin] and ourselves were able to escape from that wretched field. Then the pagans, rioting in the blood of our fellow-Christians, did not postpone coming with all their host towards the town of Acre. They stormed it and took possession of all the land about it; Ascalon, Tyre and Beyrout now alone remain to us and Christianity. Indeed, we shall in no way be able to retain even these towns, for nearly all their inhabitants have been killed, unless we get Divine help or assistance from you. Tyre they are hotly besieging, and day and night never cease from storming it. And so great are their numbers that like swarms of ants they have covered the whole face of the land from Tyre to Jerusalem, and even to Gaza. Vouchsafe therefore to send help with all speed to us and to Eastern Christianity, which at the moment is utterly paralyzed; so that, relying on your support, we may, through the Lord's mightiness and your brotherly help, be able to save the cities that are still left.

56. RICHARD CAUSES WAR WITH PHILIP.

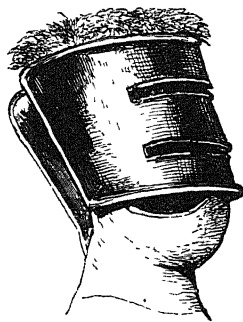
1188.

Ralph of Diceto,

'Imagines Historiarum,' [Rolls] ii. 54
Latin. *Contemporary*.

About this time Geoffrey of Lusignan assassinated a friend of Richard, Count of Poitiers. To avenge the crime the count was tempted to take up arms, but remembering that he had taken the cross he spared all Geoffrey's men who were willing to go on crusade, while he slew a good many others at the

point of the sword and captured several castles. Geoffrey, relying on the help, and perhaps the money, of the King of England, resisted the count, but without any great success. For this reason the count was estranged from his father. Passing into Gascony, he was roused by injuries received from the Count of St. Giles, and within a very short time, with the support of his Brabanters, he reduced seventeen castles in the neighbourhood of Toulouse. Now the King of France, resenting Richard's invasion of his realm without his knowledge, quietly, on June 16, took possession of Châteauroux in Berry, and compelled all its inhabitants to do fealty to him. This was a manifest disgrace to so great a prince, seeing that the King of England, just as he was on the point of sailing to England after taking the cross, had left



HELMET OF RICHARD I.

the care of all his lands to the King of France, and that the latter had loyally undertaken their care. Immediately after this the King of France by threats and promises won over to his side some guardians of castles subject to the King of England; and on hearing this the latter crossed over to France about the feast of St. James [July 25], with a huge army composed of English, Welsh and Bretons. But for some long time he kept them encamped in Normandy, in spite of their great desire to invade France; and at length, on August 16, the kings had an interview which lasted for three days

between Gisors and Trie. When they parted without coming to terms, the King of France gave orders for the felling of a tree growing near Gisors, but with its roots in French territory. The King of England left Gisors on the following day, and, passing by way of Vernon, invaded France and devastated all the country as far as Mantes.

57. RICHARD DOES HOMAGE TO PHILIP.

1188

Ralph of Diceto,
'Imagines Historiarum,' [Rolls] II. 57
Latin *Contemporary*.

On the octave of St. Martin [November 18] a conference was arranged at Bonmoulins by Richard, Count of Poitiers, between the Kings of France and England. At this conference the King of France offered to restore everything he had taken from the King of England since taking the cross, and proposed that everything should remain exactly as it was before that time. The King of England replied that it would be better to enter on a lasting peace, with the advice of clergy and barons, than to drag on a dispute which would perhaps have disastrous consequences. On hearing this the Count of Poitiers entirely dissented; for he thought it unfair that by such terms as these he should restore Cahors and a whole county and many other possessions belonging to his demesne, worth a thousand marks or more a year, in return for the fee of Châteauroux, Issoudun and Craizai, which were not in his demesne, but were merely fiefs held of him. He also passed on to another point by asking his father to give him the French king's sister in marriage, and to secure

for him the homage due to him as his father's heir. The latter request he made at the prompting of the King of France. The King of England replied that he would certainly do no such thing under the circumstances, since he would seem to be acting under compulsion rather than of his own free will. After this the Count of Poitiers, in the sight of all men, did homage to the King of France for all his father's French fiefs, saving his father's actual possession during his life and saving the allegiance he himself owed him. So the conference ended, the truce being prolonged till the following St. Hilary [January 13].

58. HENRY'S LAST CAMPAIGN.

1189.

Ralph of Diceto,
'Imagines Historiarum,' [Rolls] II. 62
Latin. *Contemporarij*.

After Easter two conferences were held at La Ferté Bernard between the Kings of France and England and the Count of Poitiers; but in the end, after lengthy negotiations, they parted enemies.

The King of France and the count raised an army, and within a few days stormed and took La Ferté, Montfort, Ballon and Beaumont; on all sides castles were given up to the count by townsmen. Walter of Mayenne, Guy de Valle, and Ralph, Lord of Fougères, deserted to the count.

The King of England lay at Le Mans, acting against the advice of his archbishops, bishops, barons and friends. When the King of France and the count heard it, they advanced in that direction, but without intending to besiege the town. But the King of England, fearing they might do so, was greatly

alarmed ; and although he had the support of many barons and a numerous army of infantry and cavalry, all eager to meet the attack, he left Le Mans, which was well provisioned in every respect. On the morrow of St. Barnabas [June 12] he fired the town, soon destroying the suburbs. The French King and Count Richard, coming up to the walls, found the gates open, and entered the cathedral in solemn procession ; to the inhabitants, clergy and populace alike they promised full indemnity, which promise they kept. They ate and drank what they found in the royal palace, but I do not say that they drank too much. The tower near the north gate was by the King of England's orders surrendered to the French King about ten days later.

At length, by the counsel of the magnates, peace was concluded between these great princes in the following terms : ' The King of England shall have restored to him everything in the province of Berri taken from him subsequent to his taking the cross, including Châteauroux ; the King of France shall be paid 20,000 marks on account of the expenses incurred in connection with Châteauroux.' And this took place on the eve of St. Peter and St. Paul [June 28] between Tours and Azai. Afterwards the King of England did homage to the King of France. All possessions held by himself or his predecessors in Auvergne he abandoned to the King of France.

59. ILL-TREATMENT OF THE JEWS.

1189.

Ralph of Diceto,
 'Imagines Historiarum,' [Rolls] ii. 75.
 Latin. *Contemporary*.

Many people throughout England, hurrying to get to Jerusalem, decided to rise against the Jews before they attacked the Saracens. So on February 6 all the Jews found in their own houses in Norwich were massacred; some took refuge in the castle. On March 7 at market-time in Stamford many were killed. On March 16 at York it is said that nearly 500 were butchered; and here they killed one another, for they preferred to be struck down by their own people rather than to perish at the hands of the uncircumcised. On March 18—that is to say, on Palm Sunday—fifty-seven are said to have been killed at St. Edmunds. Wherever Jews were found they were struck down by the hands of pilgrims, unless they were rescued by the help of their fellow-townsmen. It must not be supposed that this terrible and wicked massacre of Jews found favour with sensible men, for that saying of David often comes to our ears: 'Slay them not.'

60. RIOTS AGAINST THE JEWS: ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

1189.

Benedict of Peterborough,
 'Gesta Regis Ricardi,' [Rolls] ii. 83.
 Latin. *Contemporary*.

During the coronation banquet some leading Jews put in an appearance, against the king's orders. And because the king had issued a proclamation on the preceding day forbidding any Jew or woman to

come to his coronation, the court officials laid hands on the Jews and robbed and beat them; and after beating them they expelled them from the palace; some they actually killed, and some they left half dead. One of these Jews, called Benedict of York, was so badly hurt that his life was despaired of; in absolute fear of death, he received baptism at the hands of William, Prior of St. Mary's, York, and was christened William, thus escaping the peril of death and the violence of his persecutors.

When the London populace heard of this violent treatment of the Jews by the court officials, they too attacked the Jews in the city and robbed them, slaying many of



GREAT SEAL OF RICHARD I OBVERSE.

both sexes; they set fire to their houses and reduced them to ashes. However, a few of them escaped that massacre by shutting themselves up in the Tower of London and hiding in their friends' houses.

When next day the king heard what had happened, he sent officers through the city to arrest and bring before him some of the offenders. Three of them were hanged by judgment of the court: one because he had stolen property belonging to a Christian, and two because they started a fire in the city by which

the houses of Christians had been burnt. Then the king sent for the Jew who had turned Christian, and in the presence of those who had seen him baptized asked him whether he had become a Christian. The Jew replied that he had not, but, in order to escape with his life, he had allowed the Christians to do what they liked with him. Then, in the presence of many archbishops and bishops, the king asked the



GREAT SEAL OF RICHARD I . REVERSE.

Archbishop of Canterbury what was to be done about him. The archbishop replied with less discretion than might have been expected: 'If he won't be God's man, let him be the devil's.' Accordingly he who had been a Christian went back to Judaism. . . .

Meanwhile the king sent his messengers and letters throughout all the counties of England, forbidding anyone to ill-treat the Jews, who were to enjoy his peace. But before the publication of this decree the Jews in Dunstable were converted to Christianity, and were baptized and married to their wives. And in many towns of England the same thing happened

61. RAISING MONEY FOR THE CRUSADE.

1189.

Benedict of Peterborough,
 'Gesta Regis Ricardi,' [Rolls] ii. 90
 Latin. *Contemporary*

And in the same month King Richard removed from their offices Ranulf Glanvill, the Justiciar of England, and nearly all the sheriffs and their bailiffs; and he exacted from them the last farthing—the more they had enjoyed his father's confidence, the more he oppressed them. And he who had not as much as was demanded from him was immediately arrested and thrown into prison, where was weeping and gnashing of teeth; and he appointed other sheriffs in the place of those whom he removed. Everything was put up for sale—offices, lordships, earldoms, shrievalties, castles, towns, estates, and other such things. So it came about that Bishop Hugh of Durham bought for himself and his cathedral in perpetuity the king's town of Sedgefield, with its wapentake and other appurtenances, for the service of five knights in Lindsey, whom the bishop made over to the king for ever. Moreover, the same Bishop Hugh of Durham bought the earldom of Northumberland with its castles and other appurtenances. And he gave the king a thousand silver marks to be Justiciar of England and be excused from the crusade. . . .

Bishop Godfrey of Winchester bought from the king two excellent manors, called Wargrave and Meon, said to belong to his see.

Abbot Samson of St. Edmunds bought from him for a thousand marks a manor called Mildenhall, said to belong to his abbey by ancient right.

In fact, all who wished bought from the king rights belonging to themselves and to other people: whereby the king acquired immense treasure—far greater than that possessed by any of his predecessors. In the month of September he appointed William Marshall's brother John as the keeper and escheator of all his escheats in England; but he removed him from office shortly afterwards and gave it to others.

62. RICHARD AND THE SCOTTISH ALLEGIANCE.

1189.

Benedict of Peterborough,
'Gesta Regis Ricardi,' [Rolls] II. 102
Latin. *Contemporary*.

In the same year, before King Richard left England for Jerusalem, he released William, King of Scots, from every subjection which King Henry his father had extorted from him owing to his capture; and he gave him a charter in these terms:

'Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls and barons, justices, sheriffs, and all his servants and lieges of the whole of England, greeting.

'Know that we have restored to our kinsman William, King of Scots, his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, to be held by hereditary right by him and his heirs for ever. Moreover, we have remitted to him all customs and agreements extorted from him by fresh documents and owing to his capture, by my father King Henry of happy memory. But let him perform to me in fulness and entirety what his brother Malcolm, King of Scots, of right performed, and of right should have performed, to our predecessors.

And we shall perform to him whatever our predecessors of right performed, and ought to have performed, to the aforesaid Malcolm; to wit, in safe-conducts for coming to, returning from, and staying at, our court. . . .

‘If any of our men have made any encroachments on the territory or borders of the King of Scotland since the time of King William’s capture by our father, our will is that they be given up in full and be restored as they were before that time. Moreover, in the cases of his lands held in England, either in fee or in demesne, in the county of Huntingdon and everywhere else, he is to possess them—as are his heirs for ever—in that unrestricted freedom in which they were possessed or should have been possessed by Malcolm, unless Malcolm or his heirs have subsequently granted away any such lands; always with the understanding that, in the case of any such subsequent infeudations, the obligations of the fees shall belong to him or to his heirs. All grants made by our father to King William we hereby ratify and confirm. We have given up also the homage of his men and all charters obtained from him by our father owing to his capture. And if any other such charters should happen to be kept through forgetfulness, or shall be discovered afterwards, we ordain that they have no force. However, he himself has become our liege vassal for all lands for which his predecessors were the liege vassals of our predecessors, and he has sworn allegiance to us and to our heirs.’

63. RICHARD'S ORDINANCES OF CHINON.

June, 1190.

Roger of Hoveden, [Rolls] iii. 35
Latini Contemporary.

Meanwhile the King of England started for Gascony, and, having besieged William de Chisi's castle, captured it. William himself, the lord of that castle, he hanged, because he had plundered the pilgrims to St. James and other folk passing through his land. Then came the King of England to Chinon, in Anjou, where he appointed Girard Archbishop of Auch, Bernard Bishop of Bayonne, Robert de Sablun, Richard de Camville, and William de Forz of Oleron, admirals and constables of his whole fleet that was about to set sail for Syria. And he gave them his charter in this form:

‘Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to all his men who are about to journey to Jerusalem by sea, greeting. Know that with the common counsel of men approved we have had the following rules drawn up. Whoever on board ship shall slay another is himself to be thrown into the sea bound to the dead man: if he have slain him ashore he is to be buried in the earth. If any one be proved by lawful witnesses to have drawn a knife for the purpose of striking another, or to have wounded another to the effusion of blood, let him lose his fist; but if he strike another with his hand without drawing blood, let him be dipped three times in the sea. If any one cast any taunt or bad word against another, or invoke God's curse on him, let him for every offence pay an ounce of silver.

Let a convicted thief be shorn like a prize-fighter; after which let boiling pitch be poured on his head and a feather pillow be shaken over it so as to make him clearly recognized. Then let him be put ashore at the first land where the ships touch. Witness myself at Chinon.'

Moreover the same king in another writ instructed all his men, who were going to sea, to yield obedience to the words and ordinances of the above-mentioned justiciars of his fleet. Then the king went to Tours, where he received the pilgrim's stave and wallet from the hand of William, Archbishop of Tours. And when the king leant on the stave it broke.

64. RICHARD'S FLEET, AND HIS LANDING IN SICILY.

September 23, 1190

Richard of Devizes,

In 'Chronicles of Stephen,' etc

'De Rebus Gestis Ric I,' [Rolls] iii. 394

Latin *Contemporary*

The ships that King Richard found prepared at the seacoast were a hundred in number together with fourteen busses, vessels of huge size, wonderful strength, and great speed. They were arranged and set in order as follows. The first ship had three rudders, thirteen anchors, thirty oars, two sails, and triple ropes of every kind, moreover, it had everything that a ship can need, two of everything—saving only the mast and boat. It had one very skilful captain, and fourteen picked seamen to sail her. The ship was laden with forty horses of price, all well trained for war, and with all kinds of arms for as many riders, for forty footmen, and fifteen sailors. Moreover it had a whole year's supplies for all these

men and horses. All the ships were laden in the same way; but each buss took double cargo and gear. The king's treasure, which was exceedingly great and of inestimable worth, was divided amongst the ships and the busses so that if one part fell into danger the rest might be saved.

When everything was thus ordered, the king with a small following, and the chief men of the army with their servants, put off from the shore, preceding the fleet in galleys. Each day they put in at some fort, and, taking up the larger ships and busses of that sea as they went along, reached Messina without disaster. . . . On the morrow after his arrival (September 23) the King of England had gallows set up outside his camp to hang thieves and brigands on. Nor did the judges spare age and sex, but there was the same law to stranger and native. The King of France feigned ignorance of the wrongs his men inflicted and received; but the King of England, deeming it no matter what the nationality of the criminals were and considering every man as his own, left no wrong unpunished. For this reason the Griffons [Greeks] called the one king *The Lamb*, and the other *The Lion*.

65. RICHARD BESIEGES ACRE, AND FORCES IT TO YIELD.

July 5, 1191 'Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis
Ricardi,' p 224

In 'Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of
Ric I' [Rolls] Latin. *Circa* 1199-1220

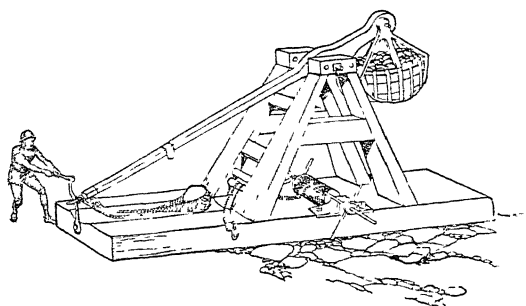
King Richard was not yet quite recovered. yet, eager for action, he turned his thoughts to the taking

of the city, and had it attacked by his men in the hopes of gaining some success with God's help. Accordingly he had a kind of hurdle-shed made and brought up to the moat outside the city wall. Under it were placed his most skilful crossbow-men; whilst, to encourage his own men for the combat and to discourage the Saracens by his presence, he had himself borne there on silken cushions. From this position he worked a crossbow, in the management of which he was very skilful, and slew many of the foes by the quarrels he shot. His miners also, approaching the tower against which his stone-casters were aimed, by an underground passage dug down towards the foundations, filling the gaps they made with logs, to which they would set fire, thus causing the walls, which had already been shaken by the stone-casters, to collapse with sudden crash.

Thereupon the king, reflecting how difficult the work was and how brave were the enemies, knowing also how needful it was to kindle men's courage at a crisis, thought it more fitting to encourage the young warriors by promises of reward than to urge them on by harsh words. Accordingly he proclaimed that he would give two gold pieces to any one who would extract a stone from the wall near the above-mentioned tower. Later he promised three, and even four, gold pieces for each stone. Then might you see the young men with their followers leap forth and rush against the wall, and set themselves eagerly to drag out the stones—and this as much for the sake of praise as of pay. . . .

At last, when the tower had fallen prostrate before

the blows of our stone-casters, and when King Richard's men began to stop mining, our soldiers, in their greed for fame and victory, began to don their arms. Amongst the banners of these were the Earl of Leicester's; that of Andrew de Chavigni and of Hugh le Brun. The Bishop of Salisbury also came up, arrayed in the most splendid fashion, and many more. It was about breakfast time when these



A TREBUCHET.

brave men-at-arms began their work, going forth to storm the tower, which they boldly scaled at once. The Turkish watchmen, on seeing them, raised a shout, and, lo! the whole city was soon all a-bustle. Our soldiers were few, whereas the numbers of the Turks kept on increasing. The Turks also threw Greek fire against their enemies, and this at last forced the men-at-arms to fall back and leave the tower, where some of them were slain by weapons, others burnt by that most deadly fire. Never has there been such a people as these Turks for warlike valour. And yet the city would on that day have been taken, and the whole siege finished, if the entire

army had displayed an equal courage. For, you must know, by far the larger part of the army was at that hour breakfasting; and, as the attack was made at an unsuitable time, it failed.

On the day of its surrender the city had been in the possession of the Saracens four years. It was surrendered, as has been already said, on the morrow of the translation of St. Benedict. But not without horror could the conquerors see the state of the churches within the city; nor can they even now remember the foul sights they witnessed there unmoved. Who would not shudder when he actually saw the insulting way in which the accursed Turks had overthrown the altars, torn down and battered the holy crosses? Ay, and they had even set up their own images of Mahomet in the sacred places, bringing in foul Mohammedan superstitions, after banishing out all the symbols of human salvation and the faith of Christ.

66. KING RICHARD'S ILLNESS—SAFADIN'S LOVE FOR HIM.

Richard of Devizes,
In 'Chronicles of Stephen,' etc
'De Rebus Gestis Ric. I.,' [Rolls] iii 69
Latin Contemporary.

The king lay exceedingly ill on his couch; the typhus abated not, and the leeches were murmuring about the greater semi-tertian fever. They began to despair, and from the king's house despair spread over the camp. There were few amongst many thousands who did not think of flight, and the utmost confusion would have followed, had not

Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, quickly called a council. Strong arguments were brought forward to prevent the army from dispersing till a truce had been got from Saladin. All the armed men [said Hubert] must stand in battle order more closely than their wont, and a threatening countenance must cover their inward fear with a false pretence of valour. No one was to speak of the king's illness lest the enemy should learn the secret of their great grief. . . .

Meanwhile there came down to visit the king, as was his wont, a certain gentle Safadin, Saladin's brother, an old soldier, very courteous and wise, and one whom the king's magnanimity and generosity had won over to his side. When the king's servants received him with less glee than was their wont, and would not admit him to audience with their master, he said: 'By the interpreter I perceive ye are in great sorrow, nor am I ignorant of the reason. My friend your king is sick, and it is for this reason ye close the door against me.' Then, bursting into lamentation, 'O God of the Christians,' he said, 'if thou indeed be God, Thou canst not suffer such a man and one so needful to die so early.'

67. RICHARD LEAVES THE HOLY LAND, AND SETS SAIL FROM ACRE.

Sept.-Oct, 1192. 'Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta
Regis Ricardi,' p. 439

In 'Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of
Ric I' [Rolls.] Latin. *Circa* 1199-1220

Now garrulous folk were wont to say that the pilgrims had done very little good in Jerusalem,

because they had not recovered the city. Such speech, however, was only foolish talk of men without knowledge. But we deem ourselves worthy of credence, for we saw and experienced all the sufferings and trials of these pilgrims. . . . And we know surely that at the siege of Acre and afterwards in the city itself there perished more than 300,000 pilgrims owing to disease and famine. Now, who can doubt as to the salvation of such good and noble men who heard service daily from their own chaplains?

Meanwhile King Richard's fleet was being prepared; all things necessary, both arms and stores, were being prepared and put in order for the return voyage. Then the king, out of pure generosity and regard for his noble character, set free ten of his noblest captive Turks in return for William des Préaux, who had formerly been captured in mistake for him. Now, the Turks would gladly have paid a large sum of money might they only have been allowed to keep William; but the magnanimity of the king disdained to be sullied by any such fact.

All preparations being made, the king, when on the point of embarking, thought fit to take heed that not the slightest matter should be left uncared for, lest his fair fame could be tarnished. And so, by herald's voice, he had all his creditors called up and paid in full.

On St. Michael's Day the two queens, Berengaria, Queen of England, King Richard's wife, and Joan, formerly Queen of Sicily, King Richard's sister, embarked at Acre. On St. Denis's Day Richard went aboard ready to return to England. When the

king's fleet set sail, how many sighs broke out from pious hearts, how freely flowed the tears from people's eyes! . . . With what bitter lamentations were the voices of the mourners heard crying, 'O Jerusalem, thou art indeed defenceless, now that thou art reft of such a champion. If by any chance the truce is broken, who will save thee from thy assailants in King Richard's absence?' Whilst all men were repeating such sad prognostications, the king, whose health was not yet fully restored, set sail with the prayers of everyone. And all night long the vessel sped on by starlight, till, as the morning broke, the king, looking back with pious eyes upon the land behind him, after long reflection broke out into prayer: 'O Holy Land, to God do I entrust thee. May He, of His mercy, only grant me such span of life that, by His good will, I may bring thee aid. For it is my hope and purpose to aid thee at some future time.' And with this prayer he pressed his sailors to set all sail so that they might sail the quicker.

68. PHILIP AUGUSTUS RETURNS HOME.

Ralph of Coggeshall,
'Chronicon Anglicanum,' [Rolls] p 33.
Latin. 1227.

After the fall of Acre, King Philip wished to hand over that city, and any others they should capture, to the Marquis of Montferrat, and to establish him as king in Jerusalem, mainly because he had married King Amalric's younger daughter, whose elder sister the late queen was now dead. But King Richard strenuously opposed Philip's wishes; he maintained

that it would be fairer to restore his realm to King Guy [of Lusignan], rather than to put another in his place while he was still alive; for he asserted that he had lost his realm, not through cowardice or slackness, but that he had been captured by the Saracens, together with the cross of the Lord, in the thick of the fight owing to the large numbers of the foe and the smallness of his own army. Undoubtedly this must be recognized as the origin of the implacable enmity which arose between the two leaders. . . .

So King Philip, seeing that men of different nations who had flocked to the Holy Land placed themselves under the leadership of King Richard, and that the fame of his worth increased every day, owing to the greater wealth of his treasury, the greater generosity of his gifts, the greater numbers of his followers, and the greater keenness of his attack upon the enemy; considering, in fact, that the fame of his own worth was eclipsed by the other's more splendid renown, he decided to return immediately to his own country. And added to all this was the fact that the Count of Flanders was now dead, and that he greatly coveted his lands. And so in the ensuing August he carried into effect what he had already decided in his mind; but he first swore that he would not invade the territory of King Richard or of any nobles who remained there with him.

69. JOHN'S CONDUCT DURING RICHARD'S ABSENCE.

1191

Richard of Devizes,
In 'Chronicles of Stephen,' etc
' De Rebus Gestis Ric. I.,' [Rolls] iii 406.
Latin. *Contemporary.*

When John the king's brother heard the news—he had been waiting for it for a long time—that his brother the king had turned his back on England, he began to go about the country with a larger retinue, and did not forbid his followers from naming him the king's heir. And as the ground is wont to shrivel up when there is no sun, so the fair face of the realm changed when there was no king. Nobles begin to rise, camps are fortified, towns are garrisoned, moats are dug out. The Archbishop of Rouen . . . was clever enough to gibe at the chancellor in such a way as not to displease his critics. Letters are circulated privately among the magnates, ecclesiastical and lay, and the minds of all are stirred up against the chancellor. The nobility was heartily, if secretly, on John's side; but the clergy, being naturally more discerning, hesitated to adhere to either leader. The chancellor pretended not to be aware of this, scornful to know that anyone would venture on any move against him.

[After several moves on both sides a conference was arranged between John and the chancellor for July 28 at Winchester.]

Now John, fearing duplicity, hired 4,000 Welshmen, in order that, if the chancellor tried to capture him during the interview, these troops being posted under cover hard by might effectively spoil his plans. Moreover he sent out invitations and requests that all

his vassals and friends able to go to war should repair with him on the day and at the place appointed to the interview he had accepted, not without suspicion, with the lord of the whole land, that so he might at any rate escape from it with his life, if the chancellor should venture on more than the king would undertake, and, in his eyes at any rate, act with too little regard to justice, or if he should not agree to the proposals submitted. On the other hand, the chancellor ordered a third of the military forces of England to come fully armed to Winchester on the day named ; and he too hired Welshmen out of the exchequer, in order that, if he had to fight with John, he should have equal forces. . . .

The meeting arranged therefore took place, and turned out better than was feared. . . . First of all were appointed three bishops, Winchester, London, and Bath, on whose good faith both sides considered they could rely. The bishops chose, to act on the chancellor's behalf, three earls, Warenne, Arundel, and Clare, together with eight others ; and on John's behalf, Stephen Ridell his chancellor, William de Wenneval, Reginald de Wasseville, and eight others. All of them swore on the Holy Gospels that they would bring about a satisfactory arrangement between John and the chancellor in the matter of their mutual pleas and complaints, to the honour of both parties and to the peace of the realm ; and in case of any subsequent disagreement they undertook to arrange it. John and the chancellor also swore that they would agree to all decisions of these arbitrators. These were the terms agreed upon : Gerard de Camville was taken back into the chancellor's

favour, and retained the peaceable custody of Lincoln Castle. John gave up the castles he had taken, and they were handed over by the chancellor to loyal lieges of the king, Nottingham to William de Wenneval, and Tickhill to Reginald de Wasseville; and both of them gave the chancellor a hostage to keep these castles in sure peace and allegiance to our lord the king, if he should return alive. If, however, the king should die before returning, the castles were to be given up to John, and the chancellor was to restore the hostages. The custodians of castles in John's honours were to be changed by the chancellor if John showed good reason for changing them. In case of the king's death, the chancellor was not to attempt to secure John's disinheritance, but to secure his succession to the throne by every means in his power.

70. RICHARD CAPTURED IN AUSTRIA.

Ralph of Coggeshall,
 'Chronicon Anglicanum,' [Rolls] p. 53.
 Latin. 1227

But King Richard, after being storm-tossed with some of his followers for six weeks—finding himself at one time within three days' sail of Marseilles, on the way to Barbary—learnt by common report that the Count of St. Giles, and all the princes through whose lands he would have to pass, had leagued themselves against him and set snares for him everywhere; he therefore decided to return home secretly through Germany, and, retracing his course, at length put in at the island of Corfu. There he hired two beaked pirate ships; now, the pirates had boldly

attacked the king's ship, but on being recognized by one of the king's sailors had joined him. So the king embarked with them, for he liked their splendid bravery and courage, along with a few of his own followers, among whom were Baldwin de Betun, Master Philip the king's clerk, Anselm his chaplain, our authority for all these details which he saw and heard, and some Templars; and they all landed somewhere in Sclavonia, near a town called Zara. Thence they immediately despatched a messenger to the nearest castle, asking for a safe-conduct from the lord of the country, who happened to be the marquis's nephew. Now, on his return the king had bought three rubies from a Pisan for 900 bezants; one of these he had set in a gold ring, while on board, and sent to the lord of the castle by the messenger we have mentioned. On being questioned by the lord as to who they were that requested the safe-conduct, the messenger replied that they were pilgrims returning from Jerusalem. Then he inquired their names, and the messenger replied: 'One of them is named Baldwin of Betun, and the other, who sent you the ring, is called Hugh the merchant.' But the lord, after a long gaze at the ring, said: 'No, his name is not Hugh, but King Richard'; and added: 'Although I have sworn to take prisoner all pilgrims coming from those parts, and not to take any gifts from them, yet by reason of the fair gift and the lord who sends it and honours me so highly, though he knows me not, I will send him back his gift and give him free leave to depart.'

So the messenger returned and reported all this to the king. And, greatly alarmed, they got ready

their horses in the middle of the night and secretly left the town. For some time they went on their way unhindered, but the lord of whom we have spoken stealthily sent a spy after them to his brother, with word to seize the king when he reached his land. When the king got there, and entered the city in which this lord's brother dwelt, the latter called in a trusty follower called Roger of Argenton, a Norman, who had lived with him for twenty years and married his niece; him he ordered to make a very careful survey of the houses in which pilgrims were wont to stay, to see if he could discover the king by his speech or by any other sign; promising to give him half his city if he could intercept the king. He therefore by inquiry and question at every single house of entertainment discovered the king; and although for a long time Richard pretended not to be what he really was, at length, constrained by the urgent entreaties and tears of his well-meaning questioner, he admitted his actual rank. Thereupon Roger begged the king with tears to hasten on his way in secret, and gave him an excellent horse. Returning afterwards to his own lord, he told him that the story of the king's coming was an idle tale; it was merely Baldwin of Betun and his men who were returning from pilgrimage. But his lord in a rage ordered all to be arrested.

But the king, secretly leaving the city with William de Stagno and a page who understood German, went on his way for three days and three nights without food. Then, under stress of hunger, he turned aside to a town in Austria, near the Danube, named Gınana, where, as the climax of all his misfortunes, the Duke

of Austria was at that time staying. Thither came the king's page to buy something; and as he offered a good many bezants in payment, and behaved in a rather lordly and ostentatious way, the citizens at once laid hands on him. On being asked who he was, he replied that he was the servant of a very rich merchant who would be coming to the city in three days' time. So he was set at liberty, and, returning secretly to the king's place of concealment, he reported his experiences and advised him to flee with all speed. But the king, after his sore tossing at sea, was anxious to rest for a few days in this city; and it chanced that his page, who went rather frequently to the market-place for necessary purchases, one day (the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle as a matter of fact) was careless enough to carry his lord the king's gloves in his belt. This being noticed, the magistrates arrested the boy once more, and put him to torture of the most varied and painful kind; then they threatened to cut his tongue out unless he confessed the truth immediately. And the boy under the intolerable agony revealed the actual state of the case. They thereupon reported all this to the duke, surrounded the king's dwelling, and demanded that he should give himself up.

Now, the king, undismayed by the wild shouts, but realizing that it was of no use to maintain his defence among so many barbarians, bade the duke come himself, for he would surrender to no one else. When the duke arrived, the king went out some little way to meet him, and gave him his sword by way of surrender. And the duke, right glad at heart, escorted the king with all honour, and then handed

him over to the care of his valiant knights, who guarded him ever most strictly day and night with drawn swords.

71 PHILIP'S OVERTURES TO JOHN.

1192

Benedict of Peterborough,
'Gesta Regis Ricardi,' [Rolls] II 236.
Latin *Contemporary*.

After Christmas, Philip, King of France, came on the octave of St. Hilary [January 20] to a conference between Gisors and Trie, where he met Fitz-Ralph, Seneschal of Normandy, and the Norman nobles. He there showed the seneschal the copy of an agreement made between himself and the King of England at Messina in Sicily. According to the tenor of this agreement, he demanded the surrender of his sister Adela, who was being kept in the castle of Rouen, and with her he demanded the castle of Gisors with all its appurtenances, the county of Aumâle, and the county of Eu. But the seneschal and nobles of Normandy refused to give up anything that he demanded, on the plea that they had received no orders in the matter from their master the King of England. Thereupon the King of France declared in anger that he would get by force what they refused to give him, and threatened them. But the steward and the barons of Normandy fortified their castles.

Meanwhile the King of France, seeing that he could not carry his ill intent as far as he wished, ordered the King of England's brother, John, Count of Mortain, to come with all haste to France, to speak with him; he said that he would give him his sister Adela to wife, and secure him in the possession

of all the lands of England and Normandy in the event of such a marriage.

When this came to the ears of Queen Eleanor, she left all other business untransacted, and sailed from Normandy to England, where she found her son John, Count of Mortain, just on the point of crossing from England to Normandy to speak with the King of France. But his mother, and the Archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciars of England, forbade him, in the name of the King of England and in their own, to cross; for they told him that if he did cross they would seize into the king's hands all his lands and castles. So John, Count of Mortain, gave heed to these and other warnings of his mother, and, paying no attention to the French king's demands, he thought better of his intention.

Then Eleanor the king's mother and nearly all the leading nobles of England came to London, and swore allegiance to him and his heir against all men.

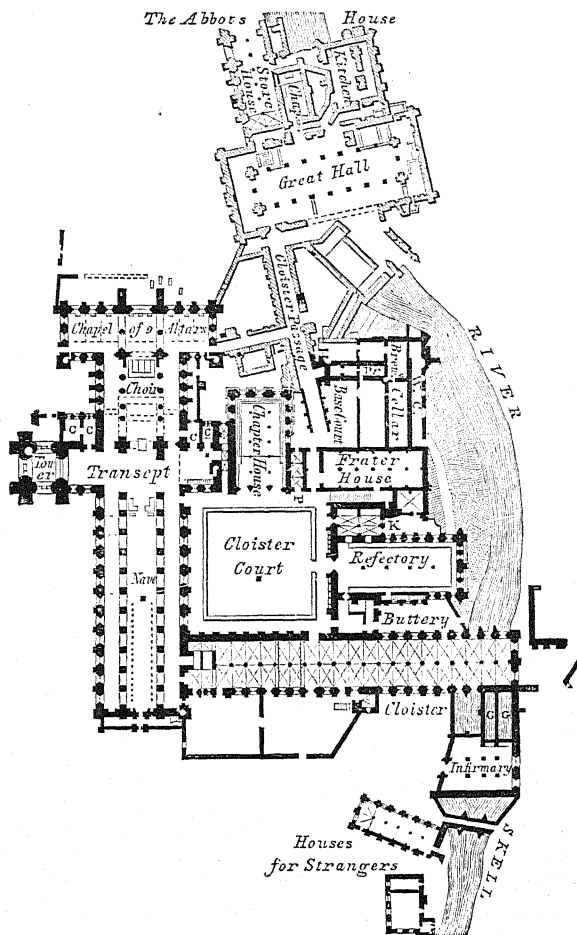
When the King of France saw that John, Count of Mortain, refused to come to him, he decided to invade Normandy; but the barons of his realm would not consent to this, saying that they would perjure themselves by invading the King of England's lands while he was fighting in God's service

72. RICHARD'S RETURN, AND HIS TREATMENT OF JOHN.

1194.

Ralph of Diceto,
'Imagines Historiarum,' [Rolls] p 114.
Latin *Contemporary*.

After a prosperous voyage the king landed at Sandwich on Sunday, March 20. On the following



GROUND-PLAN OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY (CISTERCIAN).

Founded 1132.

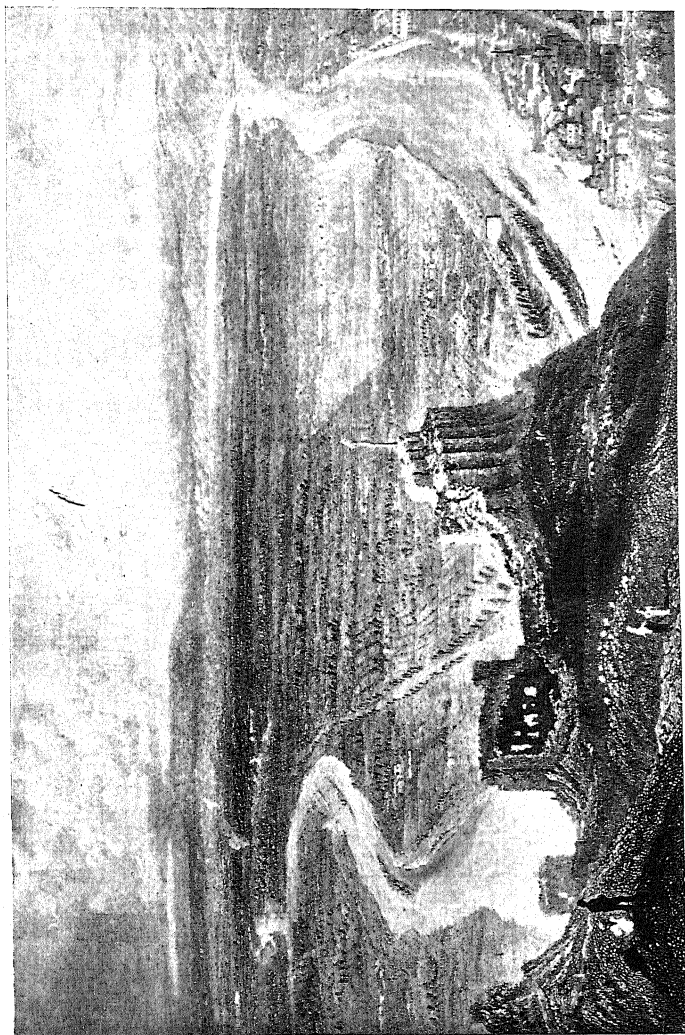
Wednesday the city made holiday, and he was welcomed, to the great joy of clergy and people, in solemn procession in the Church of St. Paul in London. Thence he marched to Nottingham, and within three days from his arrival the besieged laid down their arms and surrendered to his mercy. He kept Easter at Northampton. In the octave of Easter he was crowned at Winchester by Hubert Walter, the archbishop; William, King of Scotland, was present. On May 12 he embarked at Portsmouth. While resting at Bruys in Normandy, he rose early one morning, and was met by his brother John, who fell at his feet and was granted the mercy he begged.

73. RICHARD AND FULK OF NEUILLY.

1198.

Roger of Hoveden, [Rolls] iv 76
 Latin. *Contemporari* v.

In that year there was in France a certain priest named Fulk, whom the Lord magnified in the sight of kings, and gave power to give sight to the blind and to heal the lame and dumb and others oppressed by divers diseases, and to expel devils. . . . He, indeed, foretold to the Kings of France and England that one of them would soon die a grievous death, if they did not promptly cease from their enmity. And because at that time the harvest was great, but the workers few, the Lord joined unto him wise men to preach His word to the people. . . . Now, one day this Fulk came into the presence of King Richard, and said to him: 'I bid thee, from the Almighty, quickly marry thy three wicked daughters, lest something worse befall thee.' . . . It is said that the king



CHÂTEAU GAILLARD.
(After an engraving by J. M. W. Turner.)

replied: 'Hypocrite, thou hast lied, for I have no daughter.' Fulk answered and said: 'Nay, I lie not; for, as I said, thou hast three wicked daughters—pride, greed, and luxury.' Then the king called his friends and many of his barons round him, and said: 'Listen, all of you, to the rebuke of this hypocrite, who says that I have three wicked daughters—pride, greed, and luxury: he bids me marry them off. Very well, I give my daughter Pride to the proud Templar, my daughter Greed to the Cistercians, and my daughter Luxury to Church dignitaries.'

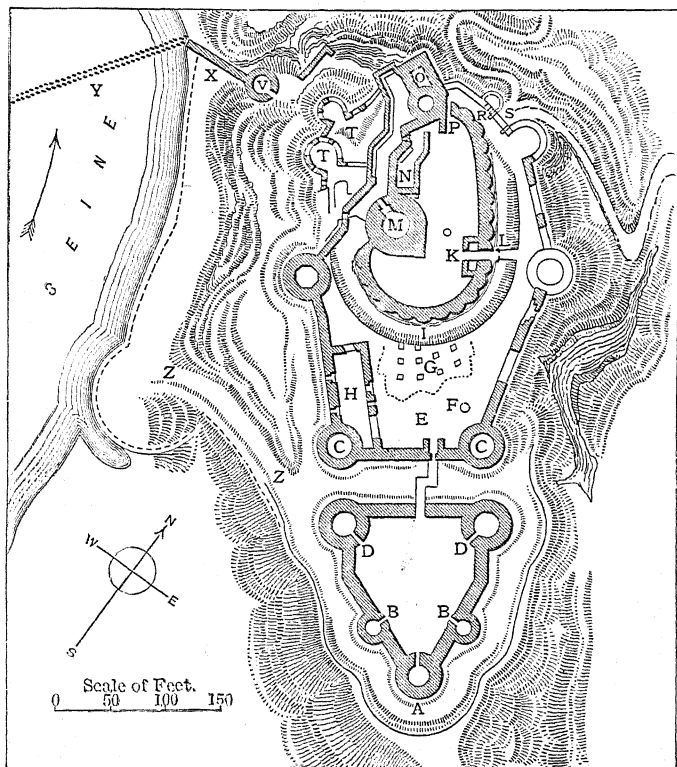
74. THE BUILDING OF CHÂTEAU GAILLARD.

1196-1198.

Roger of Hoveden, [Rolls] iv. 14.
Latin. *Contemporary*.

In the same year Richard, King of England, fortified a new castle in the Isle of Andely, against the will and prohibition of Walter, Archbishop of Rouen; and because the king refused to cease from his undertaking the archbishop laid Normandy under an interdict, and repaired to the pope. . .

So when the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Lisieux, and the Bishop-elect of Durham, met in the presence of Pope Celestine, the first mentioned urged in protest the rights he had in Andely, and the wrong done to him by Richard in building a castle on lands belonging to the Church of Rouen, without justice and clean against its will and consent. To this the king's envoys replied that the king had made him many offers through his ambassadors, men of high character and discretion, such as bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, to the effect that he would give him full satisfaction according to the valuation of



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHÂTEAU GAILLARD.

- A. High Angle Tower.
- B B. Smaller Side Towers.
- C C, D D. Corner Towers.
- E. Outer Enceinte, or Lower Court.
- F. The Well.
- G, H. Buildings in the Lower Court.
- I. The Moat.
- K. Entrance Gate.
- L. The Counterscarp.
- M. The Keep.

- N. The Escarpment.
- O. Postern Tower.
- P. Postern Gate.
- R R. Parapet Walls.
- S. Gate from the Escarpment.
- T T. Flanking Towers.
- V. Outer Tower.
- X. Connecting Wall.
- Y. The Stockade in the River.
- Z Z. The Great Ditches.

worthy men. For they asserted on the king's behalf that he could not possibly give up this island of Andely in which he had built the castle, because it was just there that the King of France and his men were in the habit of making their passage into Normandy and, too often, ravaging it; and for that reason the King of England had fortified that place for the defence of his land against the King of France. And hereupon the Archbishop of Rouen and the king's envoys undertook to abide by the judgment of the Pope and the Roman Church. The result was that, after lengthy deliberation, the Pope and cardinals, taking into consideration the losses and inconvenience which Normandy would suffer unless Andely were fortified, advised the Archbishop of Rouen to come to an amicable settlement with his lord the king, and to accept reasonable compensation for losses, at the valuation of trustworthy experts; for they said that it was quite proper for a king or any great lord to strengthen the weak spots of his territory, so as to avoid consequent loss to himself and his subjects.

75. DEATH OF RICHARD.

1199

Roger of Hoveden, [Rolls] iv. 82
Latin *Contemporary*.

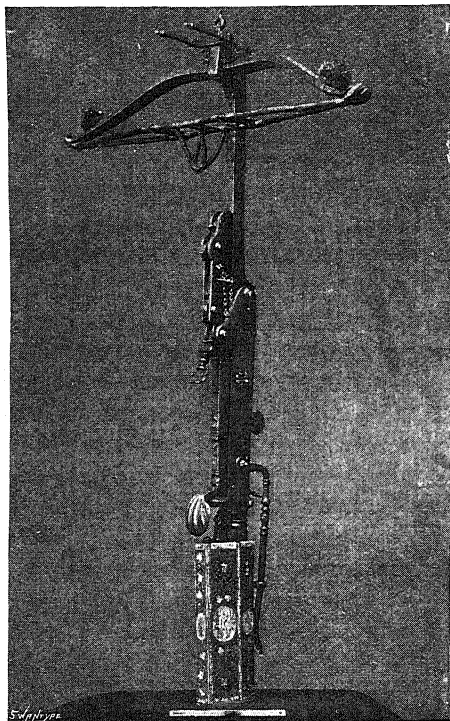
On the same day, while the King of England and Marcadeus [the captain of Richard's mercenaries] were making the round of the castle to discover the best place for an assault, an archer named Bertram de Gurdun shot an arrow from the castle and mortally wounded the king in the shoulder. The king mounted his horse and rode off to his quarters,

leaving orders to Marcadeus and his whole army to attack the castle incessantly till it was taken. And so was it done.

When it was taken, the king ordered the whole garrison to be hanged, except the man who had wounded him, intending, we may suppose, to put him to the most shameful death if he had recovered.

The king then put himself into the hands of a doctor of Marcadeus; but he, in trying to get the weapon out, only extracted the shaft, while the arrow remained in the flesh; and it was only when he had made some rather careless incisions in the king's shoulder that this butcher at last extracted the arrow. Now, when the king despaired of his life, he assigned the kingdom of England and all his other lands to his brother John, to whom he made those who were with him do allegiance; and he gave orders that his castles and three-quarters of his treasure should be handed over to him. All his jewels he left to his nephew Otto, King of the Germans. The fourth part of his treasure he ordered to be distributed among his retainers and the poor. Then he had Bertram de Gurdun, who had wounded him, brought into his presence, and said to him: 'What evil have I done you, that you killed me?' Bertram answered him: 'You killed my father and my two brothers with your own hand, and now you meant to kill me. Therefore take whatever vengeance you wish on me: for I will gladly suffer the worst torture you have devised, so long as you die who have brought such great evil upon the world.' Then the king ordered that he should be set free, and said: 'I forgive you my death. . . .' And so his

bonds were loosened and he was allowed to depart, the king ordering that he should be given a hundred



AN ARBLAST.

shillings of English money. But Marcadeus, unknown to the king, laid hands upon him, and after the king's death had him flayed alive and hanged.

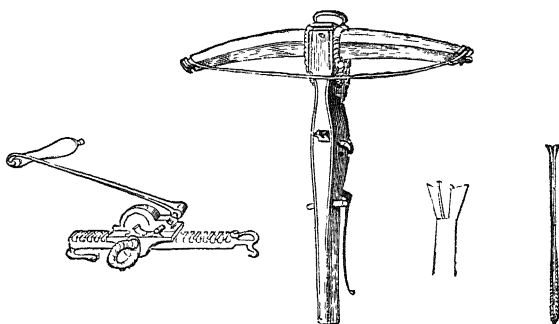
76. ACCESSION OF JOHN.

1199.

Roger of Hoveden, [Rolls] iv. 86
Latin. *Contemporary*.

Upon the death of King Richard, his brother John, Count of Mortain, stayed in Normandy, but at once sent over to England Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury and William Marshall, Earl of Striguil, together with Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Justiciar of England, and other barons of the realm, to keep the peace of England. John himself proceeded to Chinon, where his brother's treasure was. Robert of Turnham, its custodian, gave it up to him, together with the castles of Chinon, Saumur, and others, of which he was keeper. But Robert's nephew Thomas of Furnes gave up to Arthur, Duke of Brittany, the town and castle of Angers. For the nobles of Anjou, Maine and Touraine met together and gave in their adhesion to Arthur, Duke of Brittany, as to their liege lord, saying that it was the right and custom of those lands that the son of the elder brother should succeed him in the patrimony that rightly fell to him, in this case in the inheritance which Arthur's father, Geoffrey, Count of Brittany, would have had if he had survived his brother King Richard; and so they handed over to Arthur, Anjou, Touraine and Maine. Now Arthur's mother, Constance, Countess of Brittany, came to Tours, and gave her son into the hands of Philip, King of France, who immediately sent him to his own son Louis to be kept at Paris; and he took into his own hands the towns, castles and fortresses belonging to Arthur, and gave them into the keeping of his own keepers.

Now John, Count of Mortain, came to Le Mans, and took both the town and its castle; the walls of the town, the castle and the stone houses of the town he laid in ruins, and imprisoned the inhabitants, because, in violation of the allegiance they had sworn to himself, they received Arthur as their lord.



WINDLASS, CROSSBOW, AND QUARREL.

John, Count of Mortain, was at Beaufort in Anjou on Easter Day, which fell on April 18.

Then he came to Rouen; and on the Sunday in the octave of Easter [April 25], on the festival of St. Mark the Evangelist, he was girded with the sword of the duchy of Normandy in the mother-church by Archbishop Walter of Rouen. And the archbishop set upon the duke's head the golden coronet set with golden roses; the duke swore before clergy and people, on relics of the saints and the holy Gospels, to preserve scathless in good faith without evil intent Holy Church and her dignities, to exercise upright justice, to destroy bad laws and introduce good ones.

Meanwhile Queen Eleanor, the duke's mother, and Marcadeus with his company, invaded and wasted Anjou for receiving Arthur.

But Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshall, who had been sent to secure the peace of England, made the men of the realm, from cities and towns, earls and barons and free tenants, swear allegiance to John, Duke of the Normans, son of King Henry who was son of the Empress Matilda. However, all men, bishops as much as earls and barons, who had castles, fortified them with men, victuals and arms. Then Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Marshall, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Justiciar of England, met at Northampton, and summoned those about whom they were most doubtful, namely, David, brother of the King of Scots; Richard, Earl of Clare; Ranulf, Earl of Chester; William, Earl of Tutbury; Walran, Earl of Warwick; Roger, Constable of Chester; William of Mowbray and many others. To these they promised that John, Duke of the Normans, would do right to every one of them, if they proved loyal to him and kept his peace. So on this understanding these earls and barons swore allegiance and faithful service to John, Duke of Normandy, against all men. . . .

Then John crossed from Normandy into England, and landed at Shoreham on May 25; and next day, on the eve of the Ascension, he came to London, to be crowned on the morrow.

77. THE BARONS AND THEIR GRIEVANCES.

1201.

Roger of Hoveden, [Rolls] iv. 160.
Latin. *Contemporary*.

Immediately after Easter the king gave orders that the earls and barons of England should be at Portsmouth at Whitsuntide, prepared with horses and arms to cross oversea with him. For the Poitevins were proving too strong for the guardians of his lands, and were besieging his castles. And Warin de Glapion, Seneschal of Normandy, had by the king's orders besieged the castle of Driencourt, which King Richard had given to Ralph of Issoudun, Count of Eu, brother of Hugh le Brun. But upon the news of the King of England's arrival, Philip, King of France, raised all these sieges, before the King of England arrived in Normandy. Meanwhile the earls of England met in conference at Leicester, and by common consent announced to the king that they would not accompany him oversea unless he gave them their rights. But the king unfortunately demanded their castles; and beginning with William D'Aubigny, he demanded from him the castle of Belvoir; and William, satisfying him, gave him his son as a hostage, and so kept his castle.

78. CONFISCATION OF JOHN'S FRENCH FIEFS.

1202.

Ralph of Coggeshall, [Rolls] p. 135.
Latin. *Contemporary*.

When in the year 1202 terms of peace had been arranged between Philip, King of France, and John, King of England, without regard to the Count of Boulogne, who had allied himself with the King of

England, as he had previously done with King Richard at the same time as the Count of Flanders, John proceeded to attack in force Hugh le Brun, Count of La Marche, and his brother the Count of Eu, because they had rebelled against him on account of the Count of Angoulême's daughter, who had previously been betrothed to the said Hugh. But when the counts could no longer withstand the king's attack, they complained to King Philip, as to his lord-in-chief, about the extreme harshness of their lord the King of England. Now, King Philip often bade the King of England cease from attacking them and come to some terms or other with his vassals. But as the King of England absolutely refused to listen to the commands or the requests of the King of France, he was summoned by the nobles of the French realm, as Count of Aquitaine and Anjou, to appear in the court of his lord the King of France at Paris, and submit to the judgment of his court, there to answer to his lord for wrongs done and to obey the sentence passed by his peers. Now, the King of England replied that he was Duke of Normandy, and maintained that he was not bound to go to Paris to any conference, but only had to meet the king within the limits either of the kingdom or the duchy; for this was the ancient agreement between the king and the duke, as confirmed by ancient documents. But King Philip maintained that it was quite unjust that he should lose his rights relating to Aquitaine, because the Duke of Normandy and the Count of Aquitaine happened to be the same person. . . . However, the court of the King of France met and decreed that the King of England should be

deprived of all the land which he and his predecessors had hitherto held from the Kings of France, on the ground that now for a long time past they had scorned to carry out almost all the obligations attaching thereto, and refused to obey their lord in almost every respect.

Accordingly Philip, gladly accepting and approving the sentence of his court, gathered an army and quickly attacked the castle of Butavant in Normandy, built by King Richard, and razed it to the ground. Then he took all the land of Hugh Gurney and all the castles in the neighbourhood. He attacked also the castle and county of Albemarle, and the county of Eu as far as Arques, without meeting any resistance. Now Reginald, Count of Boulogne, entirely broke off his friendship with King John, because some time previously the latter had made peace with the King of France without consulting him; so now he was reconciled with his overlord, and distinguished himself as a leader in every engagement, earning high praise throughout the army; to his charge was handed over the castle of Albemarle and others which had been captured.

79. THE CAPTURE OF ARTHUR AT MIRABEL.

Ralph of Coggeshall, [Rolls] p. 137.
Latin. *Contemporary*.

Now Arthur, Count of Brittany, who had been knighted by King Philip and was betrothed to his little daughter, himself being at that time about sixteen years of age, at the urgent suggestion of some of his friends, rebelled against his uncle King John. Acting upon unfortunate and overhasty advice, he

marched out with Hugh le Brun and Geoffrey of Lusignan at the head of 250 knights against the castle of Mirabel, which they besieged under circumstances not altogether favourable. In the castle was Queen Eleanor, Arthur's grandmother, with her retinue. Now, the queen, afraid of being captured, sent a request to her son the king, to relieve the besieged with all speed; and he at once set out with a part of his army for the castle. But the enemy had got into the castle, and had had all the gates except one secured, and were now expecting the king's arrival in confident reliance upon the number of their trusty knights and men. However, the king delivered a crushing attack and got into the city, where by the grace of God he captured all his foes who had flocked thither. For he took there his nephew Arthur, Count Hugh, Geoffrey of Lusignan, and 252 doughty knights, not to mention other trusty men-at-arms. So then he relieved his mother and her followers from the besiegers.

80. THE LOSS OF NORMANDY.

1204.

Ralph of Coggeshall, [Rolls] 144.

Latin. *Contemporary*.

In this year, after the middle of Lent, King John held a council, and sent ambassadors to the King of France . . . to probe his intentions and to treat with him as to some terms of peace. But King Philip was unapproachable, because everything was going exactly to his wishes, and refused to come to any agreement at all, unless Arthur was given up to him alive; if, however, he had ceased to live, the king demanded his sister in marriage, to-

gether with all his lands oversea. And although all kinds of negotiations were pursued to insure peace, King Philip had no desire for it, for he was quite sure that in a short time he would win all the king's land; he therefore always put forward some obstacle or impossible condition in the terms of peace, likely to bring discredit upon the King of England and infringement of his duchy, or to detract from his royal prestige. He was especially enraged by Arthur's murder, for he had heard that he had been drowned in the Seine; and it is said that on this account he swore that never, as long as he lived, would he cease from attacking John, till he had taken from him his whole realm.

Shortly afterwards, at the ensuing Easter, the King of France collected an army and laid siege to Falaise, which he soon took without resistance; from there he advanced on Caen, where he was received peaceably by the citizens, as they had no one strong enough to defend them. After this he took possession of the whole province, as far as Barfleur, Cherbourg, and Domfront.

But the men of Rouen and Verneuil, and the garrison of Arques, bought a forty days' truce from the King of France, in order that in the interval they might send and learn the wishes of their overlord the King of England; on the understanding that if their overlord refused or was unable to give them help they would immediately, without further fighting, surrender to the King of France. And so they at once sent their messengers to England, with their lamentable story, to inform the king of the wretched condition of Normandy and to ask from him some protection

and help. But as King John offered them no help, owing to his suspicions as to the loyalty of some of them, the messengers returned home in no little distress and trouble. And so the famous and hitherto unconquered city of Rouen, and the men of Verneuil, and later also the garrison of Arques, gave them up to King Philip. Thus stout Normandy and Anjou, and the whole of Brittany and Maine, together with Touraine, were within a short time reduced into the power of King Philip. Accordingly in this year, in accordance with Merlin's prophecy, 'the sword was parted from the sceptre'—in other words, the duchy of Normandy from the kingdom of England. Indeed, from Duke William, who conquered England, the Kings of England were always Dukes of Normandy up to King John, who in the fifth year of his reign lost the duchy together with many other possessions oversea. Now, the duchy had been held with the kingdom for a hundred and thirty-nine years.

81. ENGLAND LAID UNDER AN INTERDICT.

1208.

Roger of Wendover (died 1235).

'Flores Historiarum,' [Rolls] II. 44. Latin.

In the same year Pope Innocent, learning that King John's heart was so hardened that he would not either by persuasion or threats be induced to acquiesce in receiving Stephen as Archbishop of Canterbury, was touched to the heart with grief, and, by the advice of his cardinals, sent orders to William, Bishop of London, Eustace, Bishop of Ely, and Mauger, Bishop of Winchester, to go to the said king about the matter of the Church of Canterbury, and to give him wholesome counsel to yield to God in this

matter, and so win the Lord's favour; but if they found him obstinate and rebellious as he had hitherto been, he ordered them to lay an interdict on the whole kingdom of England, and to announce to the king that, if he did not thereby check his boldness, the pope would lay his hand on him still more heavily. . . . He also by letters of the Apostolic See gave orders to the suffragan bishops of the Church of Canterbury, and to the other prelates of that diocese, that by virtue of their obedience they were to receive the aforesaid archbishop as their father and pastor, and to obey him with all due affection.

The Bishops of London, Ely, and Winchester, in execution of the legateship entrusted to them, went to King John, and, after duly setting forth the apostolic commands, entreated of him humbly, and with tears, that he, having God in his sight, would recall the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury to their church, and honour and love them with perfect affection; and they informed him that thus he would avoid the shame of an interdict, and the Disposer of rewards would, if he did so, multiply his temporal honours on him, and after his death would bestow lasting glory on him. When the bishops, out of regard for the king, wished to prolong the discourse, the king became nearly mad with rage, and broke forth in words of blasphemy against the pope and his cardinals, swearing by God's teeth that, if they or any other priests presumptuously dared to lay his dominions under an interdict, he would immediately send all the prelates of England, clerks as well as ordained persons, to the pope, and confiscate all their property; he added, moreover, that all

the clerks of Rome or of the pope himself who could be found in England, or in his other territories, he would send to Rome with their eyes plucked out and their noses slit, that by these marks they might be known there from other people; and he also ordered the bishops to betake themselves quickly out of his sight, if they wished to keep themselves unharmed. The bishops then, finding no repentance in the king, departed, and in the Lent following fearlessly fulfilled the duty required of them by the pope; and so on the morning of the Monday in Passion Week, which fell that year on March 23, they laid a general interdict on the whole of England, which, since it was stated to be by the authority of our lord the pope, was inviolably observed by all without regard of person or privilege. Therefore all church services ceased to be performed in England, with the exception only of confession, and the viaticum in cases of extremity, and the baptism of children; the bodies of the dead, too, were carried out of cities and towns, and buried in roads and ditches without prayers or the attendance of priests.

82. JOHN'S SUBMISSION TO THE POPE.

1213. 'Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria,'
[Rolls] II. 209. Latin. *Contemporary*.

The English bishops, who were in exile in France, went to Rome on behalf of the English Church, and, moved by their entreaties, the pope determined to put an end to the evils. So he wrote to Philip, King of France, and the princes of those parts, charging them to free England by force from the grasp of the English king unless he immediately

amended. And there was no need for much pressing or exhortation, for they were eager for this for a long while back, partly out of hatred of the king, and partly out of greed for the gold and silver in which England is supposed to be so rich. They encourage one another, and make the necessary preparations by building and collecting ships from every country, with the intention of getting them all together into one harbour and then making a joint start. Now the King of France was waiting for the fleet in person near the seacoast. And when his army was numbered, it was thought that not less than 1,500 ships would be sufficient for the host. And every day ships came flocking into port and soldiers into camp.

When the King of England heard this, he had ships from all the English ports brought together in large numbers; and he put brave keen officers in command of them, that they might strongly resist and oppose the efforts of the enemy, and destroy them if they could. . . . But many people had been frightened by the prophecy of Peter [of Wakefield], and the approach of Ascension Day, which he had prophesied would be fatal to the king, brought hesitation to many. In the midst of this general wavering and indecision, certain of the king's envoys, who at the end of the preceding year had gone to Rome, returned to him in hot haste with peremptory orders; and with them was sent a nuncio named Pandulf to insist upon the execution of these orders. The command amounted to this: that before the first day of the ensuing June four leading men of the realm should swear on the king's soul, in his

presence and by his orders, that he would agree to a form of satisfaction, sent by the pope under his seal, and, further, that he would promise so to do by his letters patent, and give this undertaking to the archbishops and bishops. Otherwise no further time would be given for repentance.

Why say more ? Inspired, as we believe, by Him in whose hand are the hearts of kings, he quietly submitted. The oath required by our lord the pope's message, and by his form of satisfaction, was taken by Reginald, Count of Boulogne ; William, Earl Warenne ; William, Earl of Ferrers ; and William, Earl of Salisbury, the king's brother ; and the king himself by his letters patent promised that he would fulfil the same, even as these four had sworn on the king's soul. Now he added this of his own accord, that by his own will and as a crowning satisfaction he would subject both his realms of England and Ireland to God and the holy apostles Peter and Paul and the holy Roman Church, so that he and his heirs in sign of this subjection should pay a thousand marks a year to the Apostolic See, being seven hundred for the realm of England and three hundred for Ireland, apart from St. Peter's penny. Moreover he swore liege homage and fealty to our lord Pope Innocent and his successors. He made a public declaration of all this by letters patent drawn up in the form of a charter, acting herein undoubtedly with wise forethought both for himself and his friends, although many people thought it a great disgrace and the yoke of absolute slavery. For when matters had come to a crisis and there was widespread panic, there was no more convenient way for avoiding

immediate danger ; perhaps, indeed, there was no other way at all ; since, from the moment when he placed himself under the apostolic protection and made his realms a patrimony of St. Peter, there was not a prince in Christendom who dared to attack him or the Apostolic See or to invade his realms, because Pope Innocent was universally feared above all his predecessors for a long time past. This submission was carried out on May 15, near Dover, where the English army with the king was then in camp. From that day his position began to improve. For immediately the papal nuncio made a speech to the people, in which he stated that the king had been reconciled to God and the holy Roman Church, and would soon give satisfaction on all points ; wherefore he enjoined and ordered them on the pope's behalf to stand loyally by him and fight against all his enemies. Thus the heart of the people was in part turned towards the king, whereas it had been greatly estranged from him.

83. WAR WITH FRANCE : BOUVINES.

1214.

Ralph of Coggeshall, [Rolls] p. 168.
Latin *Contemporary*.

Ferrand, Count of Flanders, came to England [in this year], and was met by the king at Canterbury, where he did homage for the whole of Flanders, and received, together with those who had come with him, munificent royal gifts and splendid presents of gold, silver and precious stones.

The king got together a great fleet, and about the feast of the Purification [February 2], accompanied by a few earls, but by an unnumbered host of nobles

of lesser fortune, set sail and landed at La Rochelle, taking with him his queen, his son Richard, and Eleanor, Arthur's sister, together with incalculable treasure of gold, silver and precious stones.

The king sent the Earl of Salisbury with a large sum of money into Flanders to support the count.

The king reduced the whole of Aquitaine, with the exception of Poitiers and a few castles; he captured the brother of the Count of Brittany and twenty-five knights when besieging Nantes; he made peace with Geoffrey of Lusignan, the Count of Eu, the Count of La Marche, named Hugh le Brun, and Savari de Mauléon.

A battle [Bouvines] was fought between the King of France and the Count of Flanders and his supporters, in which the Flemings were defeated by the French; there were captured the Count of Flanders, the Count of Boulogne, the Earl of Salisbury, King John's brother, and a very large number of knights of less importance. The battle [of Bouvines] was fought on Sunday, July 20, near Douai. . . .

Now, the King of England met with very little success on his expedition; indeed, the Viscount of Thouars deserted him and went over to the King of France. The latter advanced in overwhelming force against him, and then a truce for five years from the ensuing Easter was agreed upon between the two kings; the result, according to some, of the pope's command; but, according to others, of a matter of 60,000 marks which the King of England, in fear of the numbers of the opposing army, paid to the King of France.

84. THE BARONIAL OPPOSITION.

1214-15.

‘Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria,’
[Rolls] II 217. Latin. *Contemporary*.

Dissension arose between King John of England and certain of his barons about a scutage he demanded from those who had not gone themselves or sent troops with him to Poitou. For although it was given by many, some of the northern barons refused—those, in fact, who in the preceding year had prevented the king from crossing to Poitou, on the plea that they were not bound to follow the king outside the realm for lands held in England, nor to aid him with a scutage if he went himself. However, as the king demanded this as a due on the ground that it had been admitted in the days of his father and brother, the matter would have gone farther but for the restraining presence of the legate. A charter of liberties granted to the English by Henry I. was brought forward; and when the barons demanded its confirmation and observance by the king, the matter was postponed to the next year. . .

[In the following January] the barons who had demanded this charter met at London, and with the connivance, it is said, of some of the bishops had an interview with the king on the subject

And when he asked for delay on account of the novelty of the matter, he did not receive a very cordial hearing, as some remarked that he was only asking for time because he had another design in his heart. But by the good offices of some friends a date limit was fixed for his reply, namely, the octave of Easter, April 26 . . . Now, from the time when this

charter was first published his opponents received general support, and all men with one voice and mind agreed that they were even as a wall of resistance for the house of the Lord, and that they stood for liberty of Church and realm. But the king on his side required, as so often before, a general oath of fealty throughout England, that they would stand by him against all men; and this unusual clause was inserted in addition—‘against this charter.’ But when they showed their resentment and began to offer excuses, the king, thinking the time inopportune for inciting the people to disorder, gave up his attempt. However, he sent a message to the pope complaining that they were ready to rise against him, in defiance of their allegiance; for he got to know, through some of their associates, that many of them had been making efforts in this direction for some time past. They too sent complaints on their side about the king’s wrongful exactions and practical tyranny. . . .

The barons, hearing that he had called in foreign mercenaries, met before the day appointed; and when by his envoys he had sent back a rude answer to their requests, they decided not to treat with him any longer by peaceful methods, they therefore hastily returned home, and began to fortify their castles, raise troops, and collect horses and arms.

So in Easter week [April 19-26] they met in strength, as they had arranged, at Stamford; and, as they had mostly come from the North, they were called the Northerners. From Stamford they marched to Northampton . . . where they were joined by Giles, Bishop of Hereford, Geoffrey de Maundeville, Robert Fitz-Walter, and several others,

especially those with a grievance against the king.

Meanwhile the king tried to recall them to their allegiance by numerous envoys; and many conferences took place between them and the archbishop, bishops, and other leading men, while the king stayed at Oxford. There letters from the pope were presented to the king on behalf of the barons, wherein he was advised to listen to their just requests; and others to the archbishop on behalf of the king, with orders to crush by the pope's authority all conspiracies or confederacies against the king, and to prohibit the formation of any others in the future.

Now, in the last conference, which took place not far from Brackley, the barons defied the king through his envoys, and, renouncing their allegiance, returned in arms to Northampton, with banners flying at the head of their army. As the gates had been closed, and guards set both at the gates and along the walls, they began to besiege the garrison within the town; but without effect, for they had no siege machinery. . . . Many came flocking in to them, especially younger men, sons or grandsons of magnates, as though they wished to make a name for themselves from the war. . . .

And when they had appointed commanders of their forces, whom they called Marshals of God's Army, after some time they marched on London, being in all about five hundred knights. And so on the Sunday, while the people were still engaged in Divine service, a few of them, with the complicity of some of the citizens, marching in advance of the rest, mounted the wall by some steps which had been

made for repairing the walls, and, opening both gates, let in their friends ; it is said that some supporters of the king who were in the city, and the better-disposed majority of the citizens themselves, did not know what was happening. . . .

At the same time, under the influence of the same movement, there was a general rising in Devonshire, and, after first seizing Exeter, the rebels hid themselves in the woods. . . .

The king, taking up a stronger position, kept altogether on the defensive, merely strengthening his garrisons and castles with men and stores. But he had secretly sent messengers oversea asking for help from foreign nations, while he despatched others to the pope with loud complaints about the opposition directed against him. But those who were in London, thinking that he had no confidence in his strength, built engines and laid vigorous siege to the Tower. And upon this news those who had remained in the North also gained many to their side either by force or persuasion, and, collecting a considerable army, seized Lincoln in Whitsun week [June 7-14] ; for they were prepared to attack the garrison which offered resistance. The king therefore, seeing that they were growing stronger, began through some intermediaries, and especially through the archbishop, whom they greatly respected, to invite them to make peace, with a firm promise that it would not be his fault if peace were not secured in some way or other. Accordingly a convenient place of meeting for both sides was appointed, and at length after long consultations they became friends, the king agreeing to everything they desired, and confirming it by his charter.

85. JOHN FORCED TO GRANT MAGNA CARTA.

1215

Roger of Wendover (died 1235).
 'Flores Historiarum,' [Rolls] II. 113. Latin.

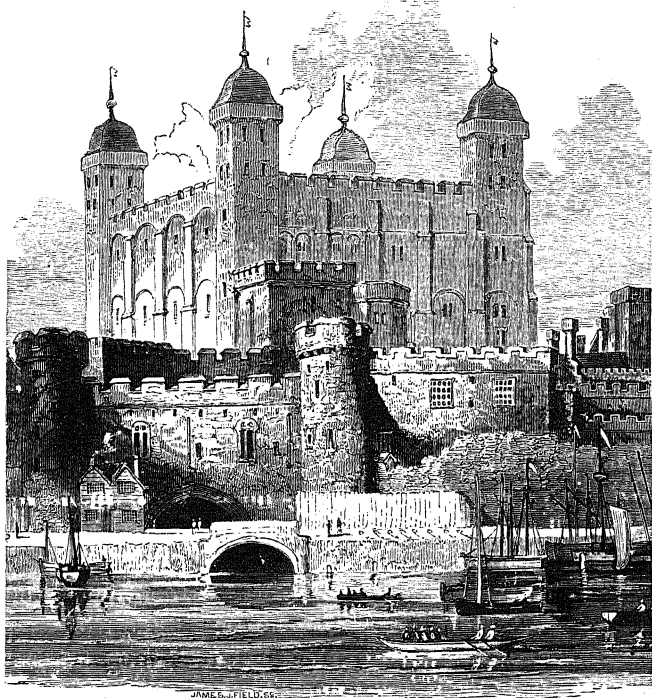
In the year 1215, which was the seventeenth year of his reign, King John held his Christmas court at Winchester for one day; after that he hurried up to London, and took up his quarters at the New Temple, where the above-mentioned nobles came to him in martial array and demanded the confirmation of the liberties and laws of King Edward, with other liberties granted to them and to the kingdom and Church of England, as were contained in the charter and laws of Henry I.; they also asserted that at the time of his absolution at Winchester he had promised to restore those laws and ancient liberties, and was bound by his own oath to observe them. The king, hearing the bold tone of the barons in making this demand, much feared an attack from them, as he saw that they were prepared for battle; however, he replied that their demands were a matter of importance and difficulty, and he therefore asked a truce till the end of Easter, that he might, after due consideration, be able to satisfy them as well as the dignity of his crown. After much discussion on both sides, the king, albeit with reluctance, procured the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, and William Marshal, as his sureties, that on the day agreed upon beforehand he would in all reason satisfy them all; and thereupon the nobles returned to their homes. The king, however, wishing to take precautions for the future, made all the nobles throughout England to swear fealty to him alone

against all men, and to renew their homage to him; and the better to take care of himself, he on the day of the purification of the Blessed Virgin assumed the cross of our Lord, being induced thereto more by fear than devotion. . . .

In Easter week of this same year, the above-mentioned nobles assembled at Stamford, with horses and arms; for they had now induced almost all the nobility of the whole kingdom to join them, and constituted a very large army; for in their army there were reckoned to be 2,000 knights, besides horse soldiers, attendants, and foot soldiers, who were variously equipped. . . .

All of these, being united by oath, were supported by the concurrence of Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was at their head. The king at this time was awaiting the arrival of his nobles at Oxford. On the Monday next after the octave of Easter, the said barons assembled in the town of Brackley; and when the king learned this, he sent to them the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, with some other discreet men, to inquire what the laws and liberties were which they demanded. The barons then delivered to the messengers a paper, containing in great measure the laws and ancient customs of the kingdom, and declared that unless the king immediately granted them, and confirmed them under his seal, they would, by taking possession of his fortresses, compel him to give them satisfaction in the matter of their demands. The archbishop with his fellow-messengers then carried the paper to the king, and read to him the heads of the paper one by one throughout. When

he heard the purport of these heads, the king said in derision and indignation: 'Why, among these unjust demands, did not the barons ask for my king-



TOWER OF LONDON: THE WHITE TOWER.

dom also? Their demands are vain and visionary, and are unsupported by any plea of reason whatever.' And at length he angrily declared, with an oath, that he would never grant them such liberties as would make him their slave. The chief of these laws and

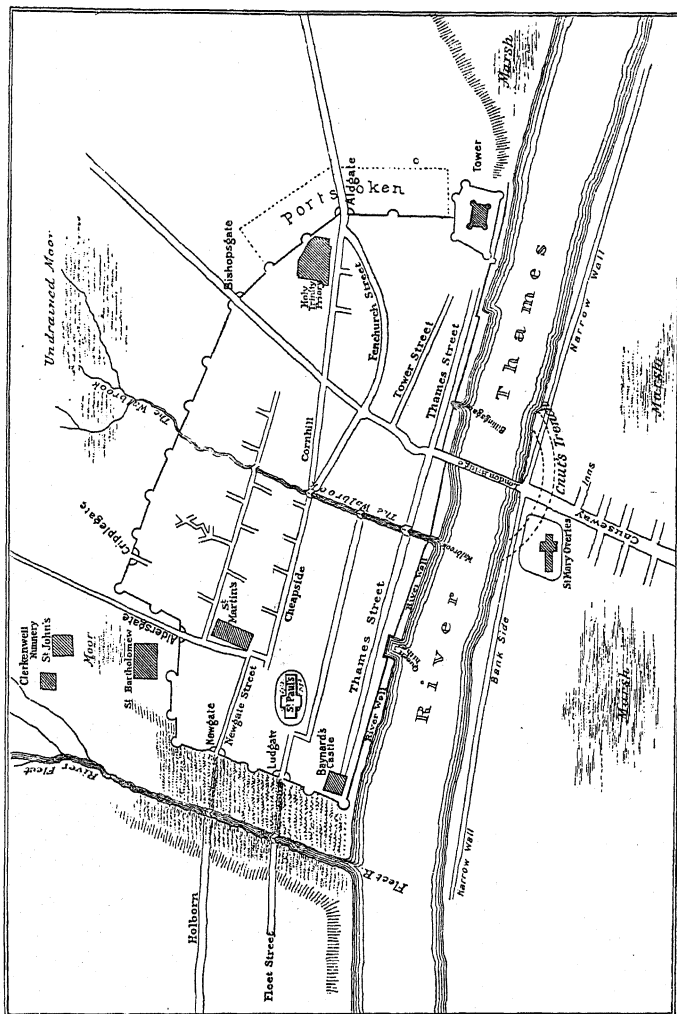
liberties, the confirmation of which the nobles required, are partly described above in the charter of King Henry, and partly are extracted from the old laws of King Edward, as the following history will show in due course.

As the archbishop and William Marshal could not by any persuasion induce the king to agree to their demands, they returned by the king's orders to the barons, and duly reported to them all they had heard from the king; and when the nobles heard what John said, they appointed Robert Fitz-Walter as commander of their army, giving him the title of 'Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church,' and then, one and all flying to arms, they marched towards Northampton. On their arrival there they at once laid siege to the castle, but after staying there for a fortnight, with little or no advantage, they determined to move their camp; for they had come without stone-throwers and other engines of war, and so, with their object unachieved, they went off in confusion to Bedford Castle. . . .

When the army of the barons arrived at Bedford, they were received with all respect by William de Beauchamp. There also came to them there messengers from the city of London, secretly telling them, if they wished to get into that city, to come there immediately. The barons, cheered by this agreeable message, immediately moved their camp and came to Ware; then they marched the whole night, and arrived early in the morning at the city of London; and finding the gates open, they entered the city on May 24 . . . without any disorder, while the inhabitants were attending Divine service, for the

rich citizens were favourable to the barons, and the poor ones were afraid to murmur against them. The barons, having thus got into the city, placed their own guards in charge of each of the gates, and then disposed of all matters in the city at will. They took security from the citizens, and sent letters throughout England to those earls, barons and knights who appeared to be still faithful to the king, though they only pretended to be so, and advised them with threats, as they regarded the safety of all their property and possessions, to abandon a king who was perjured and who warred against his barons, and together with them to stand firm and fight against the king for their rights and for peace; and that, if they refused to do this, they, the barons, would make war against them all, as against open enemies, and would destroy their castles, burn their houses and other buildings, and destroy their warrens, parks and orchards. . . .

King John, when he saw that he was deserted by almost all, so that out of his royal superabundance of followers he scarcely retained seven knights, was much alarmed lest the barons should attack his castles and reduce them without difficulty . . . and he deceitfully pretended to make peace for a time with the aforesaid barons, and sent to them William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, with other trustworthy messengers, and told them that for the sake of peace, and for the exaltation and honour of the kingdom, he would willingly grant them the laws and liberties they required; he also sent word to the barons by these same messengers, to appoint a fitting day and place to meet and carry all these matters into effect.



SKETCH-MAP OF NORMAN LONDON.

(After a drawing made under the direction of Sir Walter Besant.)

The king's messengers then came in all haste to London, and without deceit reported to the barons all that had been deceitfully imposed on them; they, in their great joy, appointed June 15 for the king to meet them, in a field lying between Staines and Windsor. So, at the time and place agreed upon, the king and nobles came to the appointed conference; and when each party had taken up its position apart from the other, they began a long discussion about terms of peace and the aforesaid liberties. There were present on behalf of the king, the archbishops, Stephen of Canterbury and H. of Dublin; the bishops W. of London, P. of Winchester, H. of Lincoln, J. of Bath, Walter of Worcester, W. of Coventry and Benedict of Rochester; Master Pandulph, familiar of our lord the pope, and Brother Almeric, the master of the Knights Templars in England; the nobles, William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Salisbury, Earl Warenne, the Earl of Arundel, Alan de Galway, W. Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Alan Bassett, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Bassett, Hugh de Neville, Hubert de Burgh, Seneschal of Poitou, Robert de Ropeley, John Marshal and Philip d'Aubigny. Those who were present on behalf of the barons it is not necessary to enumerate, since the whole nobility of England were now assembled together in numbers not to be counted. At length, after various points on both sides had been discussed, King John, seeing that he was inferior in strength to the barons, without raising any difficulty, granted the under-written laws and liberties, and confirmed them by his charter as follows.

86. MAGNA CARTA.

1215.

W. S. McKechnie's 'Magna Carta ·
A Commentary on the Great Charter of
King John.'

Ch. I. In the first place we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and for our heirs for ever, that the English Church shall be free and shall have her rights entire and her liberties inviolate; and we will that it be thus observed; which is apparent from this that the freedom of elections, which is reckoned most important and very essential to the English Church, we of our pure and unconstrained will did grant, and by our charter did confirm and did obtain the ratification of the same from our lord, Pope Innocent III., before the quarrel arose between us and our barons, and this we will observe and our will is that it be observed in good faith by our heirs for ever. We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs for ever.

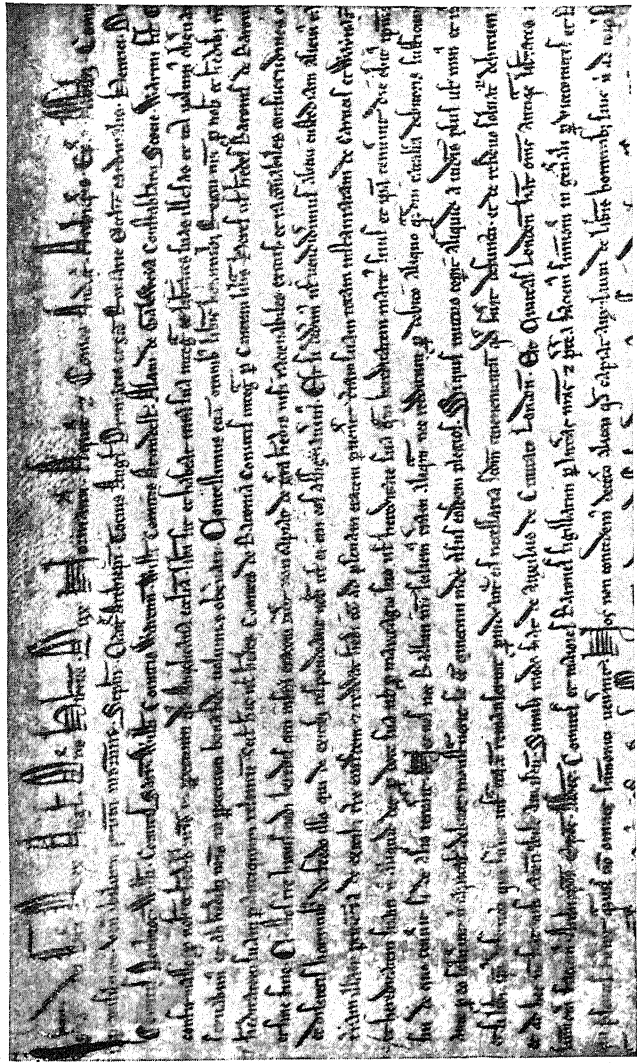
Ch. II. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding of us in chief by military service, shall have died, and at the time of his death his heir shall be of full age and owe 'relief,' he shall have his inheritance on payment of the ancient relief, namely, the heir or heirs of an earl, £100 for a whole earl's barony; the heir or heirs of a baron, £100 for a whole barony; the heir or heirs of a knight, 100 shillings at most for a whole knight's fee; and whoever owes less let him give less, according to the ancient custom of fiefs.

Ch. III. If, however, the heir of any one of the aforesaid has been under age and in wardship, let him have his inheritance without relief and without fine when he comes of age.

Ch. IV. The guardian of the land of an heir who is thus under age shall take from the land of the heir nothing but reasonable produce, reasonable customs and reasonable services, and that without destruction or waste of men or goods; and if we have committed the wardship of the lands of any such minor to the sheriff, or to any other who is responsible to us for its issues, and he has made destruction or waste of what he holds in wardship, we will take of him amends, and the land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall be responsible to us for the issues, or to him to whom we shall assign them; and if we have given or sold the wardship of any such land to someone, and he has therein made destruction or waste, he shall lose that wardship. and it shall be transferred to two lawful and discreet men of that fief, who shall be responsible to us in like manner as aforesaid.

Ch. V. The guardian, moreover, so long as he has the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, places for livestock, fishponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and he shall restore to the heir, when he has come to full age, all his land, stocked with ploughs and implements of husbandry, according as the season of husbandry shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear.

Ch. VI. Heirs shall be married without disparage-



A PORTION OF THE GREAT CHARTER.

(From the copy of original in the British Museum.)

ment, yet so that before the marriage takes place the nearest in blood to that heir shall have notice.

Ch. VII. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without difficulty have her marriage portion and inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, or for her marriage portion, or for the inheritance which her husband and she held on the day of the death of that husband; and she may remain in the house of her husband for forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.

Ch. VIII. Let no widow be compelled to marry, so long as she prefers to live without a husband: provided always that she gives security not to marry without our consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.

Ch. X. And if anyone die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if any children of the deceased are left under age, necessaries shall be provided for them in keeping with the holding of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, reserving, however, service due to feudal lords; in like manner let it be done touching debts due to others than Jews.

Ch. XII. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom unless by common counsel of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, for making our eldest son a knight, and for marrying our eldest daughter; and for these shall not be levied more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be done concerning aids from the citizens of London.

Ch. XIV. And for obtaining the common counsel of this kingdom anent the assessing of an aid (except in the three cases aforesaid) or of a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishop, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, by our letters under seal; and we will moreover cause to be summoned generally, through our sheriffs and bailiffs all others who hold of us in chief, at a fixed date, namely, after the expiry of at least forty days and at a fixed place; and in all letters of such summons we will specify the reason of the summons. And when the summons has thus been made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the counsel of such as are present, although not all who were summoned have come.

Ch. XVI. No one shall be compelled to perform greater service for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement, than is due therefrom.

Ch. XX. A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence except in accordance with the degree of the offence; and for a grave offence he shall be amerced in accordance with the gravity of his offence, yet saving always his 'contentement'; and a merchant in the same way, saving his wares; and a villein shall be amerced in the same way, saving his wainage—if they have fallen into our mercy: and none of the aforesaid ameracements shall be imposed except by the oath of honest men of the neighbourhood.

Ch. XXI. Earls and barons shall not be amerced except through their peers, and only in accordance with the degree of the offence.

Ch. XXIII. No community or individual shall be

compelled to make bridges at river-banks, except those who from of old were legally bound to do so.

Ch. XXVII. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest kinsfolk and friends, under the supervision of the Church, saving to every one the debts which the deceased owed to him.

Ch. XXVIII. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take corn or other provision from anyone without immediately tendering money therefor, unless he can have postponement thereof by permission of the seller.

Ch. XXX. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other person, shall take up the horses or carts of any freeman for transport duty, against the will of the said freeman.

Ch. XXXV. Let there be one measure of wine throughout our whole realm; and one measure of ale; and one measure of corn, to wit, 'the London quarter'; and one width of cloth (whether dyed, or russet, or halberget), to wit, two ells within the selvedges; of weights also let it be as of measures.

Ch. XXXIX. No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison, or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested; and we will not set forth against him, nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land.

Ch. XL. To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.

Ch. XLI. All merchants shall have safe and secure exit from England, and entry to England, with the right to tarry there and to move about as well by

land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and right customs, quit from all evil tolls, except (in time of war) such merchants as are of the land at war with us. And if any such are found in our land at the beginning of the war, they shall be detained, without injury to their bodies or goods, until information be received by us, or by our chief justiciar, how the merchants of our land found in the land at war with us are treated ; and if our men are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

Ch. XLVIII. All evil customs connected with forests and warrens, foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, river-banks and their wardens, shall immediately be inquired into in each county by twelve sworn knights of the same county chosen by the honest men of the same county, and shall within forty days of the same inquest be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored, provided always that we previously have information thereof, or our justiciar, if we should not be in England.

Ch. LII. If anyone has been dispossessed or removed by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, from his lands, castles, franchises, or from his right, we will immediately restore them to him ; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided by the five-and-twenty barons of whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace. Moreover, for all those possessions, from which anyone has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or removed, by our father, King Henry, or by our brother, King Richard, and which we retain in our hand (or which are possessed by others, to whom we are bound to warrant them), we shall have

respite until the usual term of crusaders ; excepting those things about which a plea has been raised, or an inquest made by our order, before our taking of the cross ; but as soon as we return from our expedition (or if perchance we desist from the expedition) we will immediately grant full justice therein.

87. THE POPE AND THE CHARTER.

1215.

‘*Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria,*
[Rolls] ii. 224. Latin. *Contemporary*

So the barons returned to London in triumph, and divided among themselves the administration of that part of the realm which seemed to have declared in their favour ; Essex was assigned to Walter de Maundeville ; the county of Northampton to Robert Fitz-Walter ; Norfolk and Suffolk to Roger de Crescy ; the county of Cambridge and Huntingdon to Saer [de Quincy], Earl of Winchester ; the county of Lincoln to William of Albigny ; the county of York and Nottingham to John [de Lacy], Constable of Chester ; and Northumberland to Robert de Ros. It was the duty of him who undertook the administration of any district to provide for the peace of the inhabitants. But a few days later news arrived that by the help of some foreign mercenaries the king had gathered together an army near Dover. For he thought Dover a convenient place to wait for the others who he hoped would be coming over ; and as the sea is easily crossed there, he thought it his best base for resisting his enemies. But they, considering him now as deposed or overthrown, began to consider the choice of a new master ; and as this had to be done with the common consent of the whole realm,

the barons issued a strongly-worded proclamation under the sanction of their sworn oath and severe penalties, whereby they summoned a general council at a fixed time and place. Meanwhile those who were charged with the execution of the pope's orders, referred to above, interpreted the judgment there given very differently from the barons we have mentioned; for they maintained that all who were thus trying to drive out their master had incurred that penalty, and they therefore declared excommunicate a large number of the leaders by name, together with the citizens of London, which they actually laid under an interdict. But no heed was paid to their judgment, because the other party alleged that they had appealed to a general council. And as the time was near when they thought they would have to go to the council, nearly all the bishops, abbots and prelates of England went overseas about the middle of September.... Now Pandulf followed the archbishop abroad, and suspended him because he had not dutifully carried out the pope's orders, but had communicated with the barons and failed in giving due honour to the king.... This judgment the archbishop with his usual wisdom humbly observed, and set out to Rome.

88. LEWIS OF FRANCE AND THE BARONS.

1215

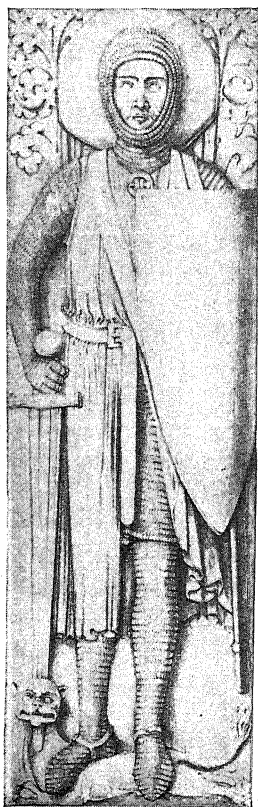
'Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria,'
[Rolls] ii. 225. Latin. *Contemporary*.

On receiving the summons to which we have referred, those barons who from the very first had not been in agreement with the anti-royalists replied at length as a body—after many delays and consulta-

tions—that they were not held by oath to depose or expel the king, especially as he declared himself

ready to observe the terms agreed upon. And so the barons were divided and evils multiplied in the land. The leading nobles on the king's side were; Ranulf, Earl of Chester; William, Earl of Warenne, the king's kinsman; William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (although his eldest son was on the other side); William, Earl of Salisbury, the king's brother; Earl William of Ferrars; William, Earl of Arundel; William, Count of Aumâle, Earl of Warwick, together with many other leading men.

On the other side were Geoffrey of Maundeville, Earl of Essex, who had been knighted by the king, and was bound to him in 19,000 marks, on account of the Countess of Gloucester, the king's former wife, whom Geoffrey had recently married; Sacre, Earl of Winchester, made earl by the king in right of his wife;



WILLIAM THE MARSHAL, EARL
OF PEMBROKE.

(From his Effigy in the Temple
Church.)

Richard, Earl of Clare; Henry, Earl of Hereford;

Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; David, Earl of Huntingdon, and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford; from among the bishops was Giles of Hereford, who owed the king 9,000 marks for his patrimony, which the latter had first confiscated and afterwards restored. And among the barons must be reckoned Robert Fitz-Walter, and Eustace of Vescy, as well as the Northerners spoken of above and many others too numerous to mention.

But in spite of their large numbers they were rather distrustful of themselves, and had recourse to Philip, King of France; and they chose his eldest son Lewis as king, beseeching him to come in his might and rescue them from the hands of this tyrant; for so was he now regarded. While negotiations and securities were being conducted and exchanged on both sides by envoys going to and fro, they proceeded to besiege the castle at Northampton, calling in French engineers to construct siege engines for the purpose. And in consequence of this some of their friends laid siege also to Oxford Castle.

89. JOHN'S SUCCESS AT ROCHESTER.

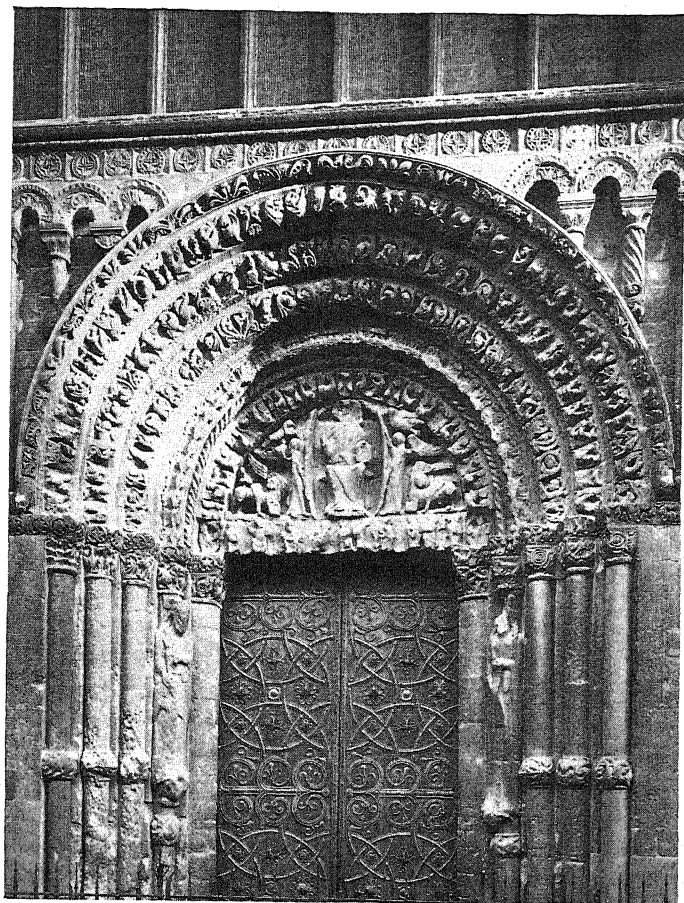
1215.

'Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria,'
[Rolls] ii 226. Latin. *Contemporary*

The king, who had been keeping very quiet for several days in the neighbourhood of Dover, now began to lift his head; for those whom he had for some time past been inviting by the attraction of great promises had now joined him—Irish, Gascons, Brabanters, Flemings, and great numbers of other foreigners. Many more would have come over to him, had they, together with the king's envoys, not

been drowned in the passage by a sudden storm. For it is said that even the pope had written on his behalf, as having undertaken to defend him with all his strength; and the definite reasons for this were that John had taken the cross, that the case of king and barons had now been laid before the pope, and that the former had put his two realms in subjection to the holy Roman Church. So, as his strength was thus increased, the king sent troops to raise the siege both of Oxford and of Northampton, while he himself took Rochester and besieged the castle, which the barons did their utmost to strengthen against him. The castle belonged to the archbishop, and there were shut up in it many leading men; the whole garrison numbered eighty, and there were fifteen of importance and power. Their friends had promised to bring them speedy and sufficient help if the king besieged them. And he lost no time in doing so; he broke down the bridges by which they could expect any reinforcements, and built engines to try and storm the castle by all possible means. But the garrison offered a brave and strenuous resistance, and inflicted great slaughter on the besiegers.

A meeting of all the confederates was held, and about 700 cavalry set out from London on the Tuesday next before the feast of All Saints [October 26], and got as far as Dartford on their way to succour the besieged. But when they heard that the king had decided to meet them with his army, while leaving behind him enough troops to maintain the siege, they thought it wiser to wait for a more fitting opportunity, seeing that they had but few foot soldiers to oppose to the king's great numbers;



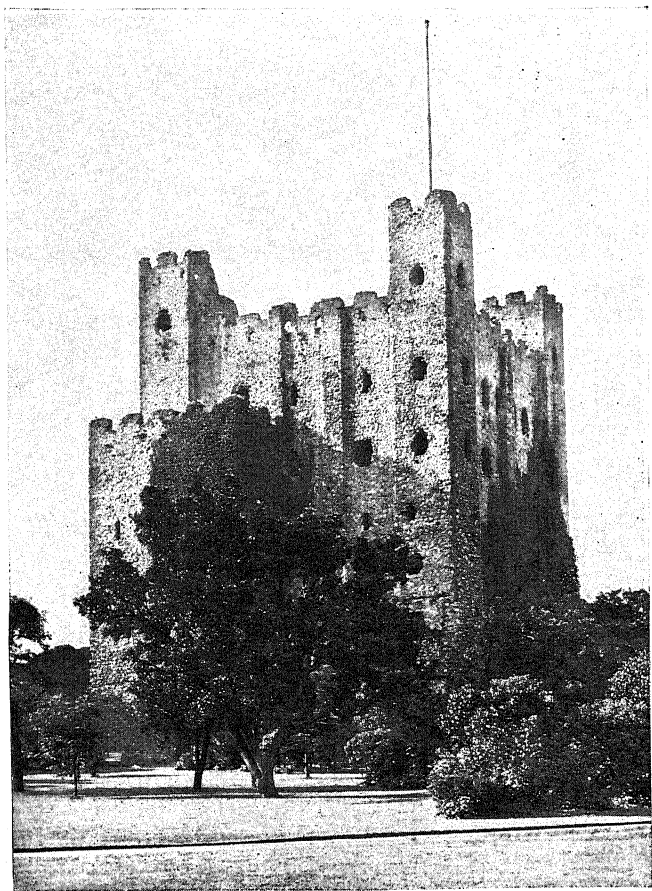
[S. B. Eolas and Co.

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL (WEST DOORWAY).

accordingly they hastened back to London, with an understanding that they should meet in greater force and better equipped on St. Andrew's Day [November 30]; for they thought that the besieged could hold out till that time.

Meanwhile Saer, Earl of Winchester, was sent with several others to hasten the coming of the Lord Lewis; and so that no possibility of misunderstanding should keep him from coming, they all swore by the altar that they would never hold land of King John. Some of them then returned home, but others remained in London. . . .

All this time the garrison at Rochester was being closely besieged, and as the king pressed the siege vigorously, no rest was given them; five machine slingers never ceased day and night from hurling stones at them. And now everything else had been battered down and the keep alone was left standing, for it was not much damaged by the slinging of the stones, owing to its age and strength. Sappers were set to work, and even when half of it had fallen the garrison in the other half still offered a stout resistance. The keep, it may be noted, was so constructed that this half was divided off by a very thick wall from the half which had fallen. No siege in our time has been so hotly pressed or so manfully resisted; for no rest was given them day after day, but in the narrow limits of one keep they had to endure the extremes of starvation, feeding only on horseflesh and water, as there was nothing else—a great hardship for those who had been brought up in luxury. At length, however, the end drew near. First of all those who seemed of little use for



[Photochrom Co., Ltd.]

KEEP OF ROCHESTER CASTLE, TWELFTH CENTURY.

fighting were expelled, and some of them had their hands or feet cut off by the king's orders ; and soon afterwards the whole garrison was captured, and, with the exception of those claiming to be clerks, thrown into prison ; knights and nobles the king kept for himself ; the lowlier-born he gave over to others. All the rest of the barons were dismayed at this news, and in great alarm either hastened to London or hid themselves in monasteries. The minority trusted for safety to their castles.

90. LANDING OF LEWIS AND DEATH OF JOHN.

1216

'Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria,'
[Rolls] ii. 229. Latin *Contemporary*.

On May 14 Lewis landed in the Isle of Thanet ; and it is actually said that his landing was witnessed by John, who had under him only foreign mercenaries, for the most part subjects of the French king ; at any rate, he made no attempt to prevent his landing or to attack him once ashore. In utter dismay he sadly turned with his forces in the direction of Winchester, to meet Gualo the legate, who had landed in England at the same time.

But Lewis, once in possession of the coast, went to Canterbury, meaning to wait there for his supporters whom he had summoned from London, in order that by uniting their forces they might march forward with greater security. French and English hastened to join him, and on news of his arrival those who had been waiting for him so long began to lift their heads and to come forth from their retirement. . . . And after taking some castles on the

way, he arrived on the Thursday in Whitsun week [June 2] in London, where he had an enthusiastic reception. Homages and fealties were performed to him, and it was thought that he would soon be in possession of the whole island; this indeed was the general prophecy, for everyone thought that the king himself had given up hope, because shortly before this he had given orders for the destruction of a number of castles throughout England, and among them Belvoir, a splendid and famous castle.

But the legate [Gualo], in association with the bishops and prelates whom he had summoned, on their return from the general council, to the aid of king and kingdom, in the king's presence excommunicated Lewis and all his supporters on Whit Sunday [May 29]; their lands he laid under an interdict, and especially the city of London. Lewis did not stop on this account, but pursued the king to Winchester, which he took after a siege, and gave to the Count of Nevers, who had accompanied him.

Then, after being considerably reinforced, he laid siege to the castle of Dover, which art and nature alike have made almost impregnable. Also he sent some English magnates with the Count of Nevers to besiege Windsor. Now, the Northerners had occupied Lincoln and made an attempt on the castle, but the lady in command bought them off, and the Northerners, along with the King of Scots, marched off to join the lord Lewis, to whom they performed fealty and homage. . . .

Meanwhile many of his nearest friends deserted

the king, as, for example, Earl Warenne his kinsman, the Earl of Salisbury his brother, the Earl of Arundel, Earl Robert de Vere, and the Count of Aumâle, although the last soon went back to him. . . .

So the king, after quietly watching Lewis's movements for some time, and seeing that he was kept rather long before Dover and that he was making rather less headway than was at first supposed, moved towards Norfolk, and occupied the country through which the King of Scots would have to pass on his way home. On this news the troops besieging Windsor marched off to meet him, and the siege was raised; but the king retired with his army on Lincoln. After devastating the island of Axholm with fire and sword, he marched through Lindsey, and, traversing Holland, reached Lincoln, where the King of Scots and many magnates had been posted for many days. And wherever during this march he came upon his enemies' lands, he harried them; and they were given over to the fury of the flames, so that our generation does not remember so great a conflagration in our parts. But when those who had taken refuge at Lynn had fled before his face, he made a hasty retreat because he was laid low by a violent attack of dysentery. And when he reached Sleaford, which he had temporarily taken from the Bishop of Lincoln on account of the war, his illness grew worse, and he had himself carried in a litter to Newark Castle, which also belonged to the Bishop of Lincoln, but was at that time in the king's hands for the same reason.

There, then, his illness proved fatal, and he died

on October 19, after a reign of seventeen years five months and three days. He was indeed a great but unfortunate prince, who, like Marius, had experienced either fortune. Munificent and generous to foreigners, he despoiled his own subjects; he gave more of his confidence to strangers than to his friends, and consequently was deserted by his friends before the end, and when he died was not deeply mourned.

REVIEW OF AUTHORITIES

A SHORT review of the chief authorities used in the compilation of this book is here subjoined. The references in the text refer to the editions here mentioned.

- 1 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. 'This is the oldest historical work written in any Germanic language, and is the basis of most of our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon history from the year 732 onward' (Gross). Begun probably at Winchester, it was continued from the time of Alfred till the middle of the twelfth century in several monasteries. It has been published with a translation in the Rolls Series, 2 vols, 1861.
- 2 WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY was a monk who wrote a 'History of the Kings of England' (449-1127) and a 'Modern History' (1125-1142). Although he was in favour of Maud, he is on the whole remarkably fair to Stephen. Both works have been edited in the Rolls Series, 2 vols, 1840.
- 3 EADMER was a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Anselm's confidential adviser. He wrote a life of his friend and also a 'Historia Novorum in Anglia' (960-1122), from which we give extracts, as being the best authority on the investiture controversy. Rolls, 1884.
- 4 *Gesta Stephani* (forming vol. iii. of 'Chronicles of Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I.,' Rolls, 1866) is the work of a partisan, but not a blind partisan, of Stephen. It is contemporary from 1135, and from 1142 to 1147 is almost our only authority.
- 5 WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH (died about 1198) was a canon of the Austin priory of St. Mary at Newburgh in Yorkshire. His characteristic as an historian is a shrewd critical judgment. His 'Historia Reum Anglicarum' (1066-1198) is

- contained in the 'Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I.,' Rolls Series, 1884-85.
6. PETER OF BLOIS was secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was in great favour at the court of Henry II. He wrote many letters relating to English affairs between 1169 and 1202. They are included in his complete works (4 vols., ed. by J. A. Giles, 1846-47) as well as in the source referred to in the text.
 7. RALPH NIGER was so keen a partisan of Becket that Henry drove him into exile. His two chronicles have been edited by the Caxton Society, 1857. Apart from the invective against Henry, they are not especially interesting for English history.
 8. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (Rolls, 7 vols., 1875-1885) contains lives by William Fitz-Stephen, Herbert of Bosham, Edward Grim, and others, as well as many letters to or from Becket or relating to him.
 9. GERALD CAMBRENSIS, or DE BARRI, was Archdeacon of Brecknock and a voluminous writer (Rolls Series, 8 vols., 1861-1891). He paid two visits to Ireland, in 1183 and 1185-86, and the history which resulted has been variously estimated. He certainly shows very little sympathy for the Irish.
 10. RALPH OF DICETO was Dean of St. Paul's from 1180 till his death, about 1202. His 'Imagines Historiarum' is therefore naturally well informed; 'after 1172 the work is original, and from 1188 onwards it is a valuable contemporary record, which contains many letters, papal bulls, and other documents' (Gross). His works are published in the Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1876.
 11. BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH was abbot of that monastery, but not the author of the work which bears his name. It is so called because Benedict ordered it to be transcribed. The chronicle (1169-1192) is the most valuable authority for the reign of Henry II. 'Begun about 1172, from that year onward most of the events were recorded contemporaneously. Many documents are embedded in the narrative' (Gross). It is in the Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1867.
 12. ROGER OF HOVEDEN (died *circa* 1201) probably wrote his 'Chronica' after 1192. Of the whole work (732-1201) Hoveden's own share is only the period 1192-1201, and

this is 'a valuable contemporary history, enriched with an abundance of documents. . . . Hoveden, probably a native of Howden, Yorkshire, was in attendance on Henry II. in France in 1174, and he was a justice itinerant of the forests in 1189. He had access to the public records, and held intercourse with the leading men of his time' (Gross).

13. RICHARD OF DEVIZES was a monk of St. Swithun's, Winchester, who wrote an interesting and amusing history of Richard I. (1189-1192). It is included in the 'Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I.,' published in the Rolls Series, 1886. 'It supplies details nowhere else to be found regarding the condition of affairs in England during the first years of Richard's reign' (Gross).
14. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (1187-1199) is an account of the third crusade, and contains many details on Richard's share in it. [Rolls]
15. RALPH OF COGGESHALL wrote a 'Chronicon Anglicanum,' 1066-1223 (Rolls Series, 1875). It is only from 1187 that the work is at all detailed, and from that time onwards is very valuable. Its author was abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall, 1207-1218.
16. WALTER OF COVENTRY'S 'Memoriale' (from Brutus to 1225) is only valuable, and then exceedingly so, for the years 1212-1216. Walter of Coventry is perhaps not even the compiler of the work, and if he was, he lived in the reign of Edward I. It seems that the portion just mentioned is derived from an almost contemporary chronicle of the monastery of Barnwell.
17. *Rymer's Fœdera*, etc., an invaluable collection of documents arranged by Thomas Rymer, and dedicated to Queen Anne, was republished by the Record Commission in 1816.
18. BENJAMIN THORPE'S *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, with an English translation of the Saxon. Record Commission, 1840.

SOME USEFUL MODERN BOOKS.

I.

- STUBBS, W. W. . *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History to the Reign of Edward I*
- STUBBS, W. W. . *Constitutional History of English* Vol. 1.
- ADAMS, G B . *Political History of England*. Vol. II. Longmans, 1905.
- FREEMAN, E. A. . *History of the Norman Conquest* ; 6 vols., 1867-1879.
- FREEMAN, E. A. : *William the Conqueror* English Statesmen Series, 1888.
- FREEMAN, E. A. . *Reign of William Rufus and Accession of Henry I* , 2 vols , 1882.
- RAMSAY, SIR J . *Foundations of England*.
- RAMSAY, SIR J . *Angevin Empire*.
- NORGATE, MISS K. : *England under the Angevin Kings* , 2 vols., 1887.
- NORGATE, MISS K. . *John Lackland*.
- GREEN, MRS J R. . *Henry II*. English Statesmen Series, 1888.
- RIGG, J. M. . *St Anselm of Canterbury*. 1896.
- ARCHER AND KINGSFORD, C. L. : *The Crusades*. Stories of the Nations.
- HALL, HUBERT : *Court Life under the Plantagenets (temp. Henry II.)*. 1890.
- MAITLAND, F. W. : *Domesday Book and Beyond*. 1897
- VINOGRADOFF, PAUL . *Villainage in England* (especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) 1892
- HUNT, W. . *The English Church in the Middle Ages* 1888.
- STEPHENS, W R. W. . *History of the English Church* Vol II (1066-1300) 1899.
- MORRIS, J . *The Life and Martyrdom of St Thomas Becket* 1885.
- BATFSON, M . *Medieval England* Stories of the Nations
- TRAIL, H. D. (editor) . *Social England*. By various writers Vol 1

II. BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

As the above works are necessarily but a few from a great mass of authorities, a short list of bibliographies is here given. That by Dr. Charles Gross must long remain the standard English work.

GAIRDNER, JAMES : *Early Chroniclers of Europe · England*.

A work in three volumes—England, France, and Italy
'A good popular account of the chroniclers to the latter part of the sixteenth century' (Gross).

GARDINER, S. R., AND MULLINGER, J. B. *Introduction to the Study of English History*. Part I is taken up with a general sketch of English history by S. R. Gardiner. Part II., by J. B. Mullinger, has a short critical account of the chief sources.

GROSS, CHARLES *The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485*. A great work, entirely superseding all other bibliographies of the sources of English history.

ADAMS, G. B. . *Political History of England*. Vol. II. (1066-1216). Contains a short but valuable bibliography of sources for this period.

SONNENSCHN, W. S. *Bibliography of History*

DATE SUMMARY

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

(a) THE INVASION AND CONQUEST.

- 1066 Death of Edward the Confessor
Harold elected and crowned king.
Within ten days William of Normandy claims the throne as Edward's heir by kinship, promise, and by Harold's oath.
Tostig and his ally Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, with William's approval invade England, and defeat Edwin and Morcar at Fulford, near York, but five days later are defeated and slain by Harold at Stamford Bridge.
Three days later William lands at Pevensey ; Harold, unsupported by Edwin and Morcar, hastens to meet him.
William wins the Battle of Hastings, or Senlac, in which Harold is killed.
The Witan elects Edgar Etheling, grandson of Edmund Ironsides, king, but before the end of the year he and the Earls Edwin and Morcar submit to William, who is crowned king.
1067. The bad government of Odo of Bayeux and William Fitzosbern, left as regents by William, who had returned for a short time to Normandy, drives the English to revolt.
1068. William returns and thoroughly conquers the West, and partially subdues the North.
1069. A general revolt in the North is supported by the Danes

and Edgar the Etheling ; William devastates Yorkshire.

Severe forest laws introduced

- 1070. Revolt in the Fens under Hereward the Wake. Edwin and Morcar also rise, but the former is killed and the latter captured. Stigand is deposed from the primacy, and is succeeded by Lanfranc, Abbot of Bec
- 1071 Hereward's camp at Ely captured
- 1072. Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, submits to William and takes oath of fealty.
Much English land given to the Normans ; many castles built and manned by Norman garrisons.
- 1073. England so far subdued that William invades and conquers Maine with an English army.

(b) NORMAN GOVERNMENT.

- 1075 Roger, Earl of Hereford, and Ralph, Earl of Norfolk, head a revolt of Norman nobles against the feudal policy of William, who refuses to restore the old system of almost independent earldoms.
- 1076. Waltheof, Siward's son, the English Earl of Northumberland, executed for alleged conspiracy.
- 1077 William, posing as the upholder of English national custom, refuses to take the oath of fealty to the Pope (Hildebrand, Gregory VII)
- 1078. Revolt of William's son Robert, who claims Normandy ; he is supported by many Norman barons
- 1079 Robert defeated at Gerberoi.
- 1080. Completion of the New Forest.
- 1082. William enforces feudal power over his brother, Bishop Odo, Earl of Kent.
- 1084 William renews the Danegeld in view of a threatened Danish invasion.
- 1085. William orders a survey of the kingdom, which results in Domesday Book
 - (1.) Evidence as to ownership of land and conditions of tenure is taken from sworn jurors, English and Norman.
 - (11) The great object of the survey is to find out England's financial and military strength

- 1086 As a result of Domesday book William holds a great meeting or Gemot of landholders at Salisbury ; they all pay homage to the king
1087. William dies at Mantes in course of a war against the King of France for the possession of the Vexin ; he is succeeded by his second son, William Rufus.

(c) CHARACTER AND EFFECTS OF THE CONQUEST.

- (1) *Foreign Relations*—Increased intercourse with the Continent by trade, diplomacy, and foreign wars.
- (ii) *Church*.—Increase of Papal influence in the Church, and more complete separation of Church and State ; establishment of ecclesiastical courts ; reform of discipline.
- (iii.) *Royal Power*.—Greatly strengthened by retention of old English privileges and addition of feudal rights. King could command national resources as king, and military service of his vassals as feudal chief. Feudal ideas of inheritance react on Crown, which came to be regarded as a right of inheritance and not of election.
- (iv) *Government*.—Changes in law few and gradual ; Englishmen gradually displaced in the Great Assembly, and new institutions established by degrees, while the old forms were usually retained.
- (v.) *Language*.—Gradual loss of English inflexions and large addition of French vocabulary. English and French long exist side by side—the former the language of the people, the latter of the Court. By the end of the twelfth century English spoken even by most Normans.
- (vi) *Learning, Literature, and Art*.—Great encouragement by scholars like Lanfranc and Anselm ; the necessary building of castles ; churches built in the Norman style.

ENGLISH AND NORMANS.

(a) THE CROWN AND THE PEOPLE.

- 1088. Norman barons, headed by Odo, the king's uncle, rise in support of Robert of Normandy, William's elder brother. The English respond to William's appeal, and the rebellion is crushed.
- 1089. Death of Lanfranc; the archbishopric is not filled, probably on the advice of Ranulf Flambard, who diverts the revenues to the royal use, and further strengthens the king's power by exacting heavy dues from the nobles.
- 1091. Treaty of Caen, by which whoever dies first of William and Robert is to succeed to both England and Normandy.
- 1093. Anselm appointed to succeed Lanfranc as archbishop.
- 1094. Flambard becomes justiciar.
- 1095. Second revolt of Norman barons, headed by Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, crushed.
- 1096. Normandy pledged to William by Robert, about to start on Crusade.
- 1097. Quarrels between Anselm and the king; Anselm leaves England.
- 1100. William killed in the New Forest. He is succeeded by his younger brother, Henry I.
Henry secures English support by publishing a charter promising better government.
Imprisonment of Flambard and recall of Anselm.
- 1101. Robert of Normandy claims England in virtue of the Treaty of Caen (1091). He is supported by many Norman barons, especially Robert of Bellême, but he has to withdraw owing to the English support of Henry.
- 1103. Investiture quarrel between Henry and Anselm.
- 1106. Defeat and capture of Robert at Tenchebrai; Henry conquers Normandy.
- 1107. Investiture quarrel composed; ecclesiastics are to do homage for estates to the king, but to receive investiture from the Pope.

- 1112. Robert of Bellême imprisoned by Henry.
- 1113 Peace of Gisors, ending the war with the French king and the Norman barons led by Robert's son, William Clito, against Henry.
- 1114 Henry's campaign in Wales
- 1116. War with France and William Clito renewed.
- 1118. French defeat at Breuille
- 1120. Henry's son William drowned.
- 1126. The barons swear to recognize Henry's daughter Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V., as his successor
- 1128 Matilda marries Geoffrey of Anjou, a former supporter of William Clito.
- William Clito killed in battle in Flanders.
- 1135 Death of Robert and Henry. Stephen of Blois, grandson of the Conqueror, succeeds to England and Normandy ; his peaceful succession is due to hatred of the Angevins, who are regarded as foreigners.

(b) THE CROWN AND THE BARONS

- 1135 Geoffrey of Anjou invades Normandy.
- 1136 Invasion of England by David, King of Scotland ; cession of Cumberland and Carlisle to the Scots
- Revolt of Hugh Bigod suppressed.
- 1138. Battle of the Standard ; David of Scotland defeated
- Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, renounces allegiance to Stephen and escapes to his sister.
- 1139. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury and justiciar, is arrested.
- Roger's family being in most of the high administrative posts of the kingdom, the utmost confusion arises.
- Landing of Matilda and Robert of Gloucester ; civil war
- Stephen introduces mercenaries, and the barons raise castles everywhere.
- Geoffrey of Anjou begins to conquer Normandy.
- 1141. Stephen captured at Lincoln.
- Matilda, supported by Stephen's brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, is proclaimed ' Lady of England,' but,

soon quarrelling with Henry and the Londoners, she has to remove to Oxford

Robert of Gloucester captured and exchanged for Stephen, who besieges Oxford, from which Matilda manages to escape. War continues till—

- 1147. Death of Robert of Gloucester. There is now a kind of peace, but barons such as the Earl of Chester and the Earl of Aumâle are more powerful than the king.
- 1152 Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, marries Eleanor of Guenne, whom the King of France had divorced, and thus acquires a large part of France.
- 1153. Invasion of England by Henry of Anjou; Treaty of Wallingford, by which Henry is to succeed Stephen, whose son had lately died
- 1154. Death of Stephen and accession of Henry II.

(c) ROYAL DESPOTISM

- 1154. Thomas Becket appointed chancellor; he restores the forms of administration used by Henry I., in spite of the opposition of the barons, whose new castles are demolished.
- ? 1154. The beginnings of trial by jury in land disputes by the recognition of twelve sworn knights.
- 1155 Submission of the leading barons.
- 1157. Malcolm of Scotland surrenders Northumberland and Cumberland and does homage as Earl of Huntingdon Welsh campaign.
- 1159. Military service commuted for money payment (scutage) in war against Toulouse, claimed by Henry in right of his wife.
- 1162. Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1163. Quarrels between Henry and Becket about (1) change in system of taxation; (2) the trial of clerks in the king's courts.
- 1164. The Constitutions of Clarendon (largely founded on former custom) first accepted and then repudiated by Becket. The most important provisions are—
 - (1) Bishops and abbots to be elected before the king's officer with the king's consent.

- (ii.) Bishops to do homage to king for their lands.
- (iii.) Ecclesiastics not to leave the land without king's consent.
- (iv.) No tenant-in-chief to be excommunicated without king's consent
- (v.) The king's court to decide on the court to try cases between laymen and clerics.
- (vi.) Clerks, after conviction in ecclesiastical courts, to be handed over to lay courts
- (vii.) No appeal to be carried beyond the King's Court (*i.e.*, to Rome) without king's consent.
- (viii.) Villeins' sons not to be ordained without their lord's consent.

Becket again attacked at Council of Northampton ; he leaves England for six years

- 1166 Assize of Clarendon organizes the general administration of justice throughout the country by establishing circuits for travelling judges , juries have to present reputed criminals for trial.

Henry spends a good deal of his time in France, whose king is supporting Becket.

Dermot, King of Leinster, invites the help of Norman barons from the Welsh marches.

- 1170 Feudal sheriffs are removed from office ; they are replaced by royal exchequer officials.

Reconciliation of Becket with Henry , Becket returns to England

Murder of Becket.

Richard Strongbow goes to Ireland and marries Dermot's daughter

1171. Henry goes to Ireland to avoid trouble over Becket's death, and there receives homage from Irish and Normans alike.

- 1173 Revolt of Henry's sons, supported by Kings of France and Scotland and many barons.

1174. Henry's public penance at Becket's tomb , defeat of his enemies.

Treaty of Falaise, by which William the Lion of Scotland, recently captured, gains his liberty on condition of doing homage for Scotland

- 1176. Assize of Northampton further develops the Assize of Clarendon by increasing the two circuits to six.
- 1178. A judicial committee of the Curia Regis is the beginning of the Court of King's Bench. The King in Council is now the final court of appeal.
- 1181. The Assize of Arms reorganizes the ancient national militia.
- 1183. Revolt of Henry's sons ; death of Henry, the eldest.
- 1184. Assize of Woodstock, regulating the royal forests and forest laws
- 1188. Saladin tithe, levied for the Crusades, is the first tax on movables or personal property.
- 1189. New revolt of the king's sons ; the king's defeat and death.
 Accession of Richard I., Cœur-de-Lion, who immediately starts on Crusade, raising money partly by releasing William the Lion from the Treaty of Falaise. He appoints as regents in his absence the justiciar, William Longchamp, and Hugh Puiset, Bishop of Durham.
- 1191. But Longchamp is driven from power by Prince John and the barons, and is succeeded by Walter de Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen
 Richard conquers Cyprus, takes Acre, and marches on Jerusalem.
- 1192 Richard, returning home from Crusade, is detained by Leopold, Duke of Austria, and handed over to the Emperor Henry VI.
 John, with the help of the King of France, intrigues against his brother Richard.
- 1193. Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, becomes justiciar.
- 1194 Release of Richard for enormous ransom raised by oppressive taxation. Richard becomes emperor's vassal for England.
 For two months Richard stays in England raising money, and then crosses to Normandy to crush John's rebellion, but is reconciled to him, and turns against the King of France, with whom he fights in a series of wars for five years.

- 1198. Resignation of Hubert Walter on account of opposition to his taxation and the general discontent, especially in London.
- 1199. Richard killed at siege of Chaluz; accession of his brother John, in spite of the claims of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, son of John's elder brother, Geoffrey.
- 1200. The King of France, hitherto Arthur's chief supporter, acknowledges John.
- 1202. John is summoned by Philip of France to answer charges of oppression brought against him by the barons of Poitou; on his non-appearance he is declared by his peers to have forfeited his fiefs in France.
- 1203. Capture and death of Arthur.
- 1204. Loss of Normandy, submission of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, and, after the death of Eleanor, John's mother, defection of most of Guienne.
- 1205. Death of Archbishop Hubert The monks hasten to elect their subprior, and then accept the king's nominee; on the case being referred to the Pope, he sets aside both candidates, and persuades the monks, through their representatives at Rome, to elect—
- 1206. Stephen Langton.
- 1208. John refuses to allow the new archbishop to enter on his see, and England is placed under an interdict.
- 1209. John excommunicated, but defies the Pope.
- 1210. Campaign in Ireland.
- 1211. Welsh war.
- 1213. John submits to the Pope, and does homage to him for his kingdom, he agrees to pay tribute.
The barons refuse to follow John in an expedition to recover Poitou on feudal grounds.
Peter des Roches becomes justiciar
- 1214. Battle of Bouvines, won by King of France against John's allies, the emperor, the Count of Flanders, and discontented French barons. John, who is trying to make a diversion in Poitou, makes peace
On John's return to England the barons meet at Bury

St. Edmunds and present their demands to him. He tries to detach the bishops by granting freedom of election to bishops, and at the same time takes the cross as a Crusader.

1215. The barons march against the king, and force John to a meeting at Runnymede, near Windsor. There they compel him to accept Magna Carta. The chief clauses are—

- (i) Freedom of election to the Church.
- (ii.) Definition of feudal dues.
- (iii) Grants to king, other than customary feudal dues, only to be levied with consent of the barons in council.
- (iv.) Justice to be properly administered to all ; no imprisonment without trial, in accordance with law of the land.
- (v.) Freedom of trade for merchants ; payment for goods and provisions seized by the king's officers.
- (vi.) Reforms of forest laws.

Pope Innocent annuls the Charter, and excommunicates the leading barons.

1216. The barons invite Louis, son of the French king, to help them

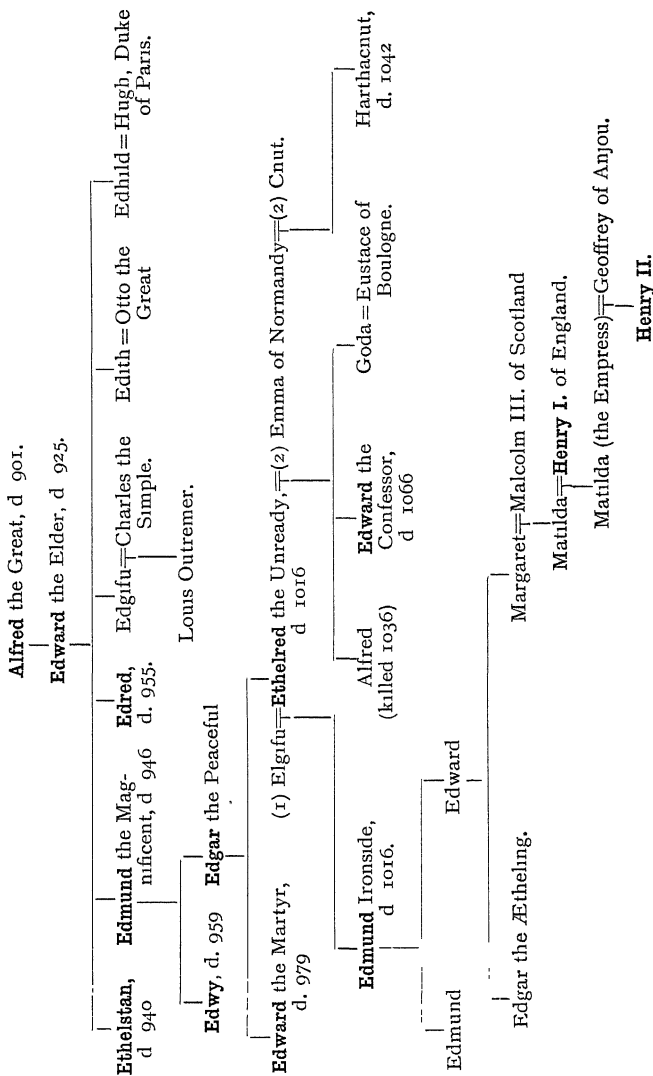
Death of John.

(d) SUMMARY OF ENGLISH AND NORMAN FUSION (1088-1216).

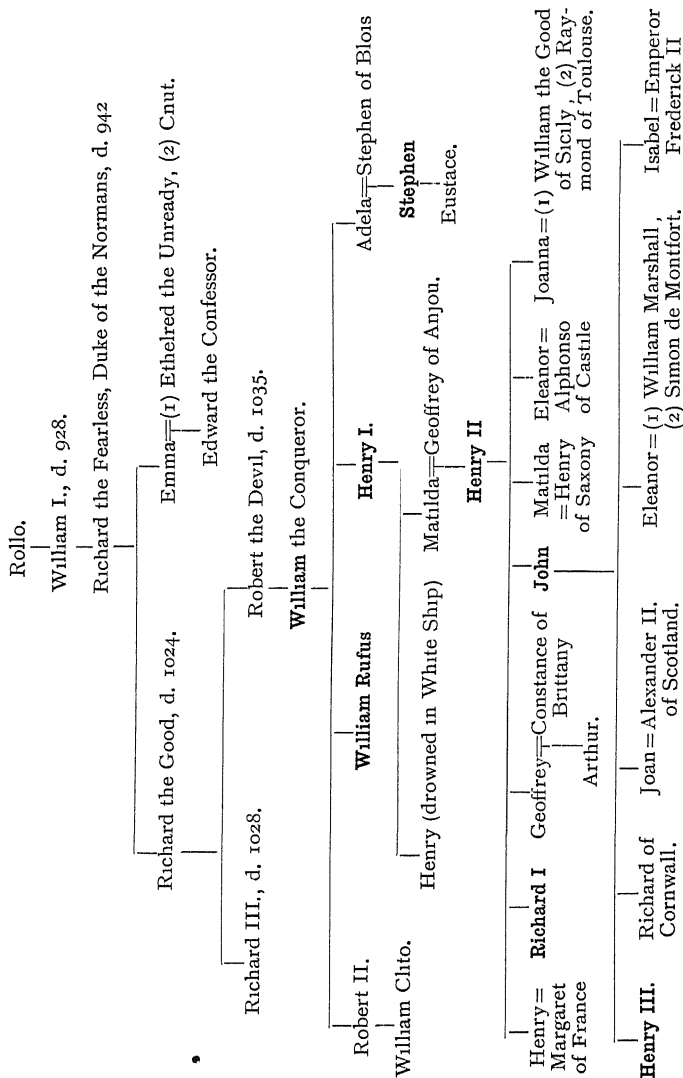
- (1.) The king's reliance upon the people against the barons.
- (ii.) The union of the barons and the clergy against royal despotism.
- (iii.) The gradual ascendancy of the English language.
- (iv.) Loss of French possessions consolidates English nationality.

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I THE ENGLISH DESCENT OF HENRY II.



II THE NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS OF ENGLAND.



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